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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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ATA Rejects SFRY Allegation on Demonstration

AU1912195689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Dec 89

["ATA Denial"]

[Text] ATA is authorized to officially deny the report published in the Serbian newspaper POLITIKA EKSPES, which was also reported by TANJUG, that demonstrations have allegedly taken place recently in Shkoder. No demonstration of any kind has taken place in Shkoder. The TANJUG report is a totally tendentious and ill-intentioned invention and is part and parcel of its well-known anti-Albanian arsenal.

The same is true of the report disseminated by the same agency 2 days earlier, about the alleged killing of four Albanian citizens along the border with Greece.

Call for World Community To Oppose Superpowers

AU2012095589 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 6 Dec 89 p 3-4

[Paskal Milo article: "The Increasingly Active Role of the World Community"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Bourgeois ideologists have been trumpeting the steps taken toward reducing tension in the second half of the eighties as the beginning of worldwide "class harmony," the end of confrontation between two socioeconomic systems, and a supposed expression of the vitality of capitalism and the failure of the revolution, socialism, and communism. Their revisionist fellow-thinkers essentially express the same viewpoint when they underscore in particular Gorbachev's "political wisdom" and the spirit of consensus in the Kremlin's "new political thinking."

It is true that U.S.-Soviet detente has in recent years brought about a reduction of tension in international relations. This is, nevertheless, partial and transient. It is partial because it has only involved certain regions and not all the areas of confrontation; some conflicts are settled, others break out. It is transient because reductions in tensions are dictated by the superpowers' political, economic, and military interests of the moment. The United States and the Soviet Union change their tactics and immediate objectives, but not their permanent strategy of ensuring their hegemony and world domination. The reduction of tension is not the personal policy of the heads of the two superpowers or their desire and intention. Despite the well-known role of personalities in the pursuit of foreign policy, such policy essentially depends on and is determined by the interests of a given state in the international arena. [passage omitted]

The intensification of U.S. and USSR imperialist policies, the invasions of Afghanistan and Grenada, and their interference in the Middle East, Central America, and other parts of the world brought many political and social forces, especially in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to a better understanding of the truly hegemonic character and aims of these policies. Many of these countries shed their traditional political passivity in the international arena and joined efforts with other states that had taken an active stand against the U.S. and USSR aggressive and expansionist course. The decision of the UN General Assembly to meet in Geneva after the U.S. refusal to allow the Palestinian delegation to enter the country, the recognition of the Palestinian state by more than 100 countries, and UNESCO's refusal to submit to Washington's dictate showed the strength and willpower of the world community. [passage omitted]

In recent years, the world community has become particularly sensitive to the accumulation of various problems and global dangers which threaten the whole of mankind, and which it is in everybody's interest to avert. These common interests include environmental pollution, the struggle against terrorism, the spread of the drug trade and disease, and so forth. Common interests also presuppose urgent common steps by the world community in confronting these dangers. Some measures have been taken, but they are still token in nature. In practice, tangible action is still far from assuming the necessary scale demanded by the times, if these global threats are to be avoided. The pressure of public opinion is inadequate without the official commitment of governments and states.

Albania is a member of the world community and has involved itself in the most active way in the problems confronting the world. Albania's foreign policy serves to defend its freedom and independence and to ensure the most favorable conditions for its successful construction of socialism. However, at the same time, it supports and makes a contribution to general peace and security. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always joined its efforts with those of all peoples and states who fight for freedom, independence, and national sovereignty, for the interests and progress of the whole of mankind, and for equality in international relations.

Sakharov Remembered; Protest at Romanian Embassy

AU1912222689 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Today a memorial service was held to pay homage to Andrey Sakharov. It was organized by the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values and by representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement.

During the memorial service in front of the Russian Church St. Nicholas, at the suggestion of Hieromonk Khristofor Subev, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values, homage was also paid to Nikola Petkov, Jan Palach, Father Popieluszko and "all victims of totalitarianism."

The committee sent a cable to Elena Bonner extending condolences to the widow of "the great Russian dissident and champion of human rights," Andrey Sakharov.

The people responded to the appeal for a peaceful protest in front of the Romanian embassy in Sofia "against the repressions of the Romanian totalitarian regime."

Blocking of Danube Bridge Continues at Ruse

AU1912191889 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Romanian Bottleneck Across the Danube"—BTA headline]

[Text] Ruse, December 19 (BTA)—More than a day and a half continues the blocking at the border check point "Dunav-Most" (Danube Bridge) between Ruse and Giurgiu. The border between Bulgaria and Romania will be closed "till further notice." Only transit passengers, trucks and buses will have the right to pass through Romanian territory, but those travelling by them will not have the right to step on Romanian land.

For the last month the Romanian authorities undertake such actions for a second time. The border was unilaterally closed during the days when the Congress of the Romanian Communist Party was held in Bucharest.

For a day and a half after the closing of the border 3,126 Bulgarian citizens—tourists and representatives of the business circles, have not managed to pass through the "Dunav-Most" checkpoint, as well as 384 motor vehicles. Dozens of tourist groups had to return to different parts of this country from the border checkpoint in Ruse, which has disrupted the work of the Bulgarian tourist companies.

There is a sharp decrease in the number of people coming from Romania into Bulgaria. The Romanian authorities let through only people on business trips.

Komsomol CC Protests Use of Force in Timosoara

AU1912222789 Sofia BTA in English 2124 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Protests Against Violence in Romania"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—The leadership of the Central Committee [CC] of the Dimitrov Young Communist League adopted a declaration in which a protest is made in connection with the announcements about the use of force in dispersing citizens' demonstrations in Timisoara and other settlements in Romania in which human life was taken.

Such acts are incompatible with the principles of humanism and they violate foundation-laying internationally recognized human rights and freedoms, it is said in the declaration.

Protest Held at Romanian Embassy in Sofia

AU1912182389 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Several hundred people came to a protest demonstration in front of the Romanian Embassy in Sofia. They raised slogans against the violation of human rights in Romania, against the closing of the Bulgaro-Romanian border on the side of Romania and against the outrages of the Romanian authorities over Bulgarian and foreign transit passengers, about which today's Bulgarian newspapers informed.

"Stop the Bloodshed in Romania." "Ceausescu: Traitor and Killer," "The Dictatorship in Romania: Disgrace for Europe" was written on the slogans.

Protest Note to Romania on Border Controls

AU1912170789 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Bulgaria Makes a Protest to Romania"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—In connection with the present situation at the checkpoints on the frontier between Bulgaria and Romania brought about by measures the latter has taken unilaterally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria has expressed serious concern before the Embassy of Romania in Sofia, says the announcement published by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It points out that this act contradicts the Bulgaro-Romanian governmental agreement concluded in 1967 on the elimination of entrance-exit and transit visas.

The Bulgarian side is within its rights to expect urgent information about the motives, the character and the range of the unilaterally introduced restrictions and hopes that the normal regime of crossing the Bulgaro-Romanian frontier will be restored the soonest possible in the spirit of the traditionally good neighbourly relations between the Bulgarian and the Romanian people, it is said in the announcement.

Citizens Advised Not To Visit Romania

AU1912133889 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Consular Department Recommendation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—In connection with the situation which has arisen at the checkpoints on the Bulgaro-Romanian border, the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommends that all organisations and citizens of Bulgaria refrain from private tourist and other trips to Romania until the modifications in the entry procedures introduced by the Romanian side are clarified.

Romanian Airline Suspends Services

AU1912163389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The commercial administration of the Romanian Airline Company Tarom has announced to the representative of Balkan Airlines in Bucharest that—and I quote: "Because of the lack of hotel beds in the country, the travel of Bulgarian and foreign citizens to Bucharest is temporarily suspended, with the exception of persons with diplomatic passports, businessmen with confirmations from Romanian companies, students studying in Romania, and transit passengers possessing reservations and tickets."

The representative of Balkan Tourist [name indistinct] was informed today that until 6 January 1990, group tourist visits are canceled, including visits by Romanians to Bulgaria. After this date, the program for organized tourist visits is to be reexamined.

The Balkan Airlines representatives are facing considerable difficulties in solving the problems arising from the Romanian flight canceled yesterday on the Bucharest-Sofia-Bucharest route, because the passengers waiting in Sofia to enter the country must meet the conditions detailed above.

According to diplomatic sources, through the representatives of other states, the Romanian officials reportedly stated that the reasons for the cancellation of the organized and individual tourist trips to Romania was the lack of beds in the hotels, arising from the winter school and student holidays, as well as the weather conditions, which were unsuitable for tourism.

1990 Trade Protocol Signed With Romania

AU1912123489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] A protocol on goods exchange and payments between Bulgaria and Romania for 1990 was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. It is envisioned that the goods exchange will reach a value of almost R450 million, a considerable increase over the volume of trade achieved this year.

Bulgaria will export engineering, electronics, and electrical engineering products, and will carry out a mutual exchange of chemical and metallurgical products and consumer goods. Two barter deals were also signed for the import into Bulgaria of Romanian electric locomotives in return for the export of Bulgarian engineering products. In addition, 2,000 Dacia and Aro cars will be imported in return for the export of Bulgarian engineering products.

Provincial Restructuring Rallies Reported

AU1912163489

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 18 December carries, on pages 1-2, four brief BTA reports from Pleven, Veliko Turnovo, Turgovishte, and Pernik totaling 800 words on public rallies held on 17 December under the headline: "For Open-minded and Honest Dialogue."

The 200-word report from Pleven describes a rally organized "at the initiative of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria." The speakers are reported as demanding "more objective information in the mass media," and "open-minded dialogue with all democratic forces." They also asked for the improvement of medical facilities in the city and "better conditions for the activities of independent citizens' associations."

Concern was also expressed about the danger to people's health from the production of the local petrochemical plant.

"The participants in the rally denounced the unworthy demonstrations at the Sofia rally in front of the National Assembly," the report further states.

A 200-word report from Pernik, one of Bulgaria's large industrial centers, describes a rally organized by the Ecoglasnost Independent Assocation held in front of the local Palace of Culture, on the occasion of which concern was expressed about the local ecological situation. "The speakers voiced demands for action against those who are responsible for the disastrous ecological situation," the report states. A petition to the National Assembly was adopted at the rally, proposing "specific measures for expanding ecological glasnost and referendums in connection with building new industrial projects," and for closing down industrial plants that produce heavy air pollution.

'Warning' Work Stoppage in Veliko Turnovo

AU1912212589 Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Strikes That Give Warning"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Today in Veliko Turnovo the Dimitur Naydenov State Printing House stopped its work for about an hour. This warning walkout was a protest against outdated labour norms, unjust testimonials, the unjust social policy and the methods used by the management of the printing house.

A similar event took place in the town of Vratsa at the ammonia-carbide working shop of the Chimco Company. The workers had bands on their overalls which read "I Am on Strike," but they did not leave their working places and declared they will strive to maintain an optimal technological regime. The expression of their discontent was provoked by the unjust distribution of cash bonuses.

Teachers Demand Action on Chernobyl Incident

AU1912215089 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Teachers Insist on Legal Proceedings in Connection With Misinformation About Chernobyl"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—In connection with the publication in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO which reveals the truth about the situation in Bulgaria after the accident in Chernobyl, at a meeting held today the team of the Unified Secondary Polytechnical School "Acad. Emilyan Stanev" in Sofia made a protest against the fact that in 1986 the public was deliberately misinformed as to the real situation in the country. The teachers qualified this act as a crime against the nation and categorically declared themselves to be against the speculations with the health of children, youth and the whole people.

They insisted that those who deliberately, irresponsibly and immorally manipulated people's consciousness and belittled real facts, thus contributing to inflicting immeasurable harm on the present and the coming generation, are to be brought to court.

Citizens Demand Investigation of V. Kolarov

AU1912213089 Sofia BTA in English 1951 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Ex-Comintern Secretary General"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—To investigate the activity of Vasil Kolarov, as one of the organizers of the provocational trials against Traycho Kostov and other repressed party and state figures, insisted Sofia citizens at a rally. [sentence as received]

The official historiography continues to maintain the version about the great services of Vasil Kolarov (1877-1950) to the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] as a "comrade-in-arms and associate of Georgi Dimitrov" and to the international communist movement as a secretary general of the Comintern (1922-24).

"Kolarov entered into the history of our people as one of the most distinguished BCP figures, a renowned figure of the international communist and workers' movement, revolutionary and scholar, statesman and public figure, economist and jurist, parliamentarian and publicist, secretary general of the Comintern, builder of people's and democratic Bulgaria, ardent champion of the Bulgaro-Soviet friendship...," reads the biography of Kolarov published by the Partizdat Publishing House in 1980.

The resolution of the mourning rally held here on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Traycho Kostov's death, insists on the "deportation" of the mortal remains of Vasil Kolarov to some other place; at present they are in the wall of Georgi Dimitrov's Mausoleum.

It is also proposed to rehabilitate completely all who have been repressed, as well to organize a national funeral for Traycho Kostov and all Bulgarians, victims of Stalinism.

Investigation Commission Holds Meeting

AU1912224389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Today the Parliamentary Commission for Examining and Resolving Certain Urgent Questions Connected With Distortions and Violations of Legality Committed in State, Social, and Economic Life, which was elected at the 12th session of the National Assembly, met in a working session.

The session was chaired by the commission's chairman, Andrey Lukanov.

The session discussed procedural and organizational matters relating to the commission's work.

Exclusive Clinic for Leaders Described

AU1912111389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Professor Doctor Mladen Grigorov, head of the Lozenets Clinic, attached to the Military Medical Academy, by Margit Terziradeva; date and place not given— "Behind the Barrier of the Lozenets Clinic"]

[Excerpts] Last November, we began for the first time to talk in a loud voice about numerous subjects that had occupied our minds for several decades and had often mixed up our ideas about social justice. Such subjects evoked questions that, to put it mildly, were considered inappropriate, and, therefore, were concealed under a heavy curtain of silence. [passage omitted]

Once more, as on many occasions, people are commenting on the more-or-less important advantages and privileges that can hardly be evaluated in figures, but without which man's life become more difficult and less comfortable. This applies to millions of Bulgarian citizens. Today's unexpected event is that a long-since coveted journalists' desire of lifting the barrier of the famous government clinic was promptly satisfied at the initiative of Professor Doctor Mladen Grigorov, head of the Lozenets Special Clinic attached to the Military Medical Academy, who invited us: "Come and see! I am ready to answer all your questions!" We should immediately explain the following fact to our readers: As early as February 1989, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision on transferring the hospital to the higher military medical institution. It is now called the Lozenets Clinic attached to the Military Medical Academy.

[Terziradeva] Has anything essential changed about the hospital's statute? This, naturally, was my first question for to Professor Grigorov.

[Grigorov] In addition to the fact that part of the clinic's leading personnel was militarized, it was restructured on clinical principles in conformity with its status as an academic institution. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] So far, you mentioned only structural and personnel changes at the Lozenets Clinic. Nevertheless, in the people's consciousness it remains, an inaccessible, "elitarian" institution....

[Grigorov] It is the custom in all countries of the world that a limited number of government officials should be provided with special conditions of medical treatment and observation. It is rather a question of how restricted their number should be. In our clinic it includes approximately 5,500 people. In addition to the high echelons of the party and state, all members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the majority of the party apparatus functionaries, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] leadership members, members of the Fatherland Front National Council, the trade unions, and the Komsomol, secretaries of BCP oblast committees, and chairmen of oblast people's councils, first secretaries of Sofia BCP municipal committees, Bulgarian ambassasdors abroad, and foreign diplomats from socialist countries have access to the clinic. We also provide medical services for Bulgarian academicians, chairmen of creative unions, meritorious veterans of the scientific, cultural, and arts sectors, and for ministers and deputy ministers. [passage omitted] Members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, the BZNS chairman, and the chairman of the Central Control-Auditing Commission are treated in the First Internai Medicine Ward. This corresponds, in general lines, to the ideas and requirements of a government medical center in numerous Western countries, including the fact that the limited access also serves security purposes. Naturally, the medical services provided by the First Internal Medicine Ward also extend to the families of the leaders in question, on the basis of the "family doctor" priniciple. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] Is any unique medical, or other equipment that is missing in our country, available to the clinic?

[Grigorov] By no means. A total of four scanners exist in Sofia hospitals, and the fifth belongs to us, but it is by far not the latest one. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] Nevertheless, how does your clinic differ from other hospitals?

[Grigorov] Cleanliness, order, and more comfortable rooms for patients is the main feature. [passage omitted]

[Terziradeva] How does the workload of the medical personnel in your clinic compare to that in other health institutions?

[Grigorov] Doctors and nurses in our clinic are certainly less busy. A physician of the "family doctor type" employed in our clinic is in charge of 450 patients, while a normal district physician is responsble for approximately 3,000 people. In the clinic itself a doctor is in charge of 7-8 patients, while in the other medical institutions doctors are in charge of 15-20 patients. [passage omitted]

Cleanliness, a peaceful atmosphere, sufficient attention, and security, for both patients and medical personnel—these are the characteristic features of the Lozenets Clinic. A swimming pool, a tennis court, and a large park. Are all these things not absolute requirements for all our medical institutions? This is certainly an optimum model, differing greatly from the reality that exists in most places of our country today....

Clinic Opened to Citizens

AU1912224089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] In accordance with the Council of Ministers' decision to close the Dr Kiril Savezov First Clinical Hospital, the former Government Hospital, and the transfer of the Lozenets Clinic Facility to the Higher Institute of Military Medicine of the Academy of Military Medicine, it was specified that the large clinic building, together with all its equipment and facilities, would be handed over for the needs of the Cardiology Center attached to the Academy of Military Medicine.

In this way, the center will open wide its doors for the diagnosis and treatment of citizens suffering from cardiovascular diseases, and the completion of surgical operations on them, at the expense of a considerable reduction in the numbers of those who previously used to receive treatment at this facility.

In the future, a small section of the Lozenets Clinical Facility will provide medical services for a limited number of members of leading cadres from the state leadership, as is the practice in all civilized countries.

Journalists Announce Congress; Chairman Resigns

AU1012195889 Sofia BTA in English
1715 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—The Governing Board of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists held a session today. After a several-hour-long debate in which more than 30 participants took the floor, it was resolved to call a special Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists by the end of January 1990.

The Governing Board granted the request of Mr Lalyu Dimitrov to be relieved of his responsibilities as president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, an office to which he was elected at a special congress of the Union in March 1989.

BCP CC Social Sciences Academy Meets

AU1212210889 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, under the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, held a meeting at which it discussed the current dissatisfaction at the insufficiently active involvement of the academy's research and and teaching staff in the processes of renewal in the party and society.

At the proposal of the established initiative committee, some basic problems were submitted to the discussions of the academy's staff. In a democratic spirit, discussion dealt with the need for a creative renewal of Marxist-Leninist science and to purge it of dogmatism and cliches.

The restructuring of scientific-research work and the training of cadres were discussed. The point of view was expressed that, regardless of the pressure exerted by the command-administrative system, the academy has a certain responsibility for training cadres, some of whom had contributed to deformations in various spheres of social life. The practice of abusing the academy's name to assert personal contributions to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, as was the case with Todor Zhivkov and his fictional series of lectures, was denounced.

The opinion was expressed that violations in the style and methods of work of the academy's leading organs and its institutes have been committed.

Ideas and proposasls on intensifying and improving the democratization process at all levels of party work were submitted in a constructive spirit.

The meeting expressed its support for the new party policy and for the proposed practical measures, aimed at the stabilization of economic and sociopolitical life in our country.

A decision was adopted to convene an extraordianry, academic meeting at which the state of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management and of its institutes is expected to be assessed, and new leading organs are to be elected.

The general meeting appealed to the collectives of the Institute of Marxism-Lenisnism, the center for party construction, the center for theory and guidance of ideolgocial processes, and to the economic management center to become most actively involved in their work in order to solve the crucial problems of the party and of social life.

1st Day of 11-13 Dec BCP CC Plenum

AU2012151489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed BTA report: "Plenum of the BCP Central Committee"]

[Text] Sofia, 11 December (BTA)—A plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee opened at the Boyana Residence today.

In addition to members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the plenum is attended by the secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], by members of the BZNS Permanent Board, by the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and by distinguished members from the economic and intellectual sphere.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, read a report of the BCP Central Committee Politburo—"On the State of the Country, the Party, and on Immediate Tasks."

A letter from Tsola Dragoycheva to the BCP Central Committee Plenum was read at the beginning of the debates.

The following members of the BCP Central Committee took the floor at the 11 December session: Ivan Tenev, chairman of the "Elektronika" Association; Georgi Grigorov, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee; and David Elazar, director of the BCP History Institute.

The participants in the plenum adopted the proposal that was submitted by Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, that all statements should be published with every speaker abridging one-fourth of his text at his own initiative.

A commission on the expected plenum resolution was established, and will be chaired by Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary.

Mihaylov's Speech

AU1912192289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 89 pp 5, 6

[Statement by Stoyan Mikhaylov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum—in Sophia on 12 December]

[Text] We are living during a fateful political moment for the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and socialism in Bulgaria.

For a long time after 1956, we thought that a people's government was being constructed in Bulgaria, while in practice the personal power of a single leader was being consolidated. The personal power, as a modified form of the personality cult, created a situation in which the knowledge and analytical skill of a single person, which were very limited, as well as his prejudices and moral qualities, turned into a restricting factor in determining the contents, level, and dynamics of the governmental activity.

This was the source of increasingly asserting subjective factors in the government activity and the expanding contradiction with the people's interests.

The negative accumulations as a result of the personal power at the beginning of the 1980's developed into a qualitatively new stage—the country found itself in a crisis. For 10 years the crisis exacerbated so much that things have come to a head. The danger emerged of pushing the country into a state of economic bankruptcy; the alienation from labor and property assumed huge dimensions; corruption and crime flourished; repressions against all those who dared to criticize intensified; and the dissatisfaction, especially the one related to the first leader, became an all-people phenomenon.

Against this background, the removal of Todor Zhivkov from governing activity, which took place on 10 November 1989, afforded the opportunity to remove the personal power from our country, and this is an achievement of crucial importance. The comrades, who took part in this change, are worthy of praise.

The removal of Todor Zhivkov released the masses' accumulated dissatisfaction and repressed energy. Naturally, dissonances emerged in the people's independent political activity that developed—overt opinions against socialism and the party's leading role, and attempts to revise and reject fundamental values.

The situation was complicated by many other circumstances. Many of the Communists lost their faith and are experiencing strong political and methodological hesitations. Many already adhere to incorrect opinions. Others participate in the citizens' associations. Yet others are afraid to begin a dialogue with the working people, and assume passive positions. The municipal party committees are now in a limbo. Pressured by the rising masses with demands for personal changes and responsibility for abuses and deformations, and having received no positive program orientation from the party leadership, they are more or less in a blind alley. The same applies to a large degree to the BCP oblast committees.

The public organizations have been strongly discredited. Some of them face the danger of disintegration. The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are confused. The activity and organization of the citizens' associations are quickly intensifying, while overt antiparty and antisocialist elements can be discerned within those associations. The processes of political life, which the party and state leadership fail to control, increase.

The deterioration of the economic situation already affects the standard of living of broader masses of the people. There is a danger of the development of a strike movement. People are widely listening to the Western radio stations, and those stations are disseminating doubt and negation of socialism's basic values. The fact that the processes are developing extremely quickly is of special importance. As for now, their dynamic is faster than the activity of the party leadership and the party as a whole.

The decisive task of the moment springs from this situation, namely, to save the party's leading role and socialism in Bulgaria as a social system. Perhaps, some of you will think that this assessment is exaggerated. However, I am convinced that any attempt to underestimate the danger for the party and socialism would be fatal now.

Is there a way out of this situation? I am convinced of a positive answer to this question. Regardless of how difficult and complicated it is, there is a way out.

Unfortunately, very little was done during the past month since 10 November. To a certain degree, this was the month of missed opportunities. The new party leadership lagged behind the events, did not initiate essential changes, could not lead the party to an active position, and did not undertake anything serious to change the style of work.

Thus, the new Central Committee leadership's political level, competency, and ability to react were not up to the requirements of the superresponsible situation.

The Central Committee, for its part, despite the certain animation that has taken place, is still removed from its real place. If now, at this plenum, it does not rise to the level required by the situation, it will be fully discredited—with all the ensuing consequences for the party.

I think that the development of a strictly founded and sufficiently prudent program orientation and specific plan for action, which will direct the activity and efforts from the Central Committee to the primary party organizations, and from the general secretary to the rank-and-file Communist, is the first condition of sustaining the leading role of the party and socialism in Bulgaria. I think that this plenum is making an important political step in this direction.

The party program, adopted by the 1971 10th BCP Congress, was rejected in a frivolous and irresponsible manner. An attempt was made in 1987 to replace the program with the so-called "July Concept." This attempt was glorified by the entire Politburo—however, the failure of the July Concept is obvious to all. Thus, the party remained without program orientation. It is impossible to work out such a program at the present stage; however, it is absolutely necessary that the party is aware of its lasting methodological and ideological points of support. Otherwise, it will not follow a constant direction in the political diversity that is emerging and will wobble, being unable to find its way in the new situation of political pluralism.

I think that two directions have crucial importance in the party's program orientation and specific plan of action:

First—the economic direction. The country must be immediately saved from the economic explosion. In addition to the urgent problems—the 1990 plan, the foreign debt that has enslaved us for many years to come, the obsolete material-production basis, the deterioration of the standard of living, the long-range plan, the discipline and organization of labor, and so forth—it is necessary to clarify a question that has a fundamental importance for the character of the party as a Communist Party: Will the party remain an opponent to the exploitation of man by man, or it would agree to return to private property and hired manpower?

It is impossible to ignore the inability of our economic management to resolve those questions. The Council of Ministers is essentially responsible for this, especially in recent years. The National Assembly, which just like the Central Committee, was a mechanism for mechanical vote of approval, also is responsible to a large degree.

I think that failing to seriously deal with those issues after 10 November is one of the Politburo's essential omissions.

The democratization of society, restructuring the social management, and creating conditions for its optimal functioning, is the second direction of the party's program orientation. In this context, I support the specific proposals made in Comrade Mladenov's report.

The various movements and associations, created at the initiative of the citizens, represent one of the new phenomena in our sociopolitical life. Regardless of their names, at least some of them already began to fulfill political functions. Some of them will certainly form political parties. The political pluralism already asserts itself as a fact, and there is no power that can stop it. It is necessary that the party learn to act under such conditions, something she has long forgotten. It must be able to attract the majority of the voters to its side and learn to live with political opponents, some of which could assume positions that reject socialism and the socialist prospect of development. Furthermore, it must achieve this not through repression and threats, but only by convincing the people.

Therefore it is mandatory to fully overcome the complex against the citizens' associations. The plenum's report makes a step forward in this direction. The existence of new political parties—noncommunist, parallel communist, and nonsocialist parties—at least as a legal possibility, will become the norm in the future. In this context, it is necessary to assume a differentiated approach toward the citizens' associations. We need dialogue, cooperation, and discipline, and if necessary, also a political struggle. However, in all cases the party must work with those associations on the basis of equality and not as a privileged force.

From this point of view, it was correctly suggested to revoke the part of the Constitution on the leading role of the party. The removal of this part does not mean that we deny the party's leading role. As a Marxist, I am deeply convinced that only a Communist Party, a real one, can ensure the successful construction of the socialist society. However, such a text ensures its leading role, and consequently, makes the party irresponsible. The normal situation should be the one in which the party constantly proves its ability to lead the state and society. Finally, such a constitutional text creates the possibility of administratively persecuting those who think in a different manner, i.e., to suppress democracy.

Unfortunately, the party, the party apparatus, and the Communists are not ready to work for the cause of socialism in this fundamentally new situation. Also in this area, we are allowing a delay. The profound restructuring of our party in anything related to work with the citizens' associations, is a pressing issue.

In this context, the issue of party propaganda emerged against a completely different background. It is only now that it assumes its real functions and acquires primary importance. When, under the conditions of personal power, it was not permitted to think independently, propaganda inevitably assumed the form of a one-way supply of information. Furthermore, propaganda inevitably turned into a process of imposing opinions and criteria of evaluation, rather than a process of voluntarily forming convictions.

From now on, we shall no longer form personal convictions by decree. Under conditions of political pluralism, when various opinions, some of them even opposed to the party, are freely professed, the citizens will accept the party line only if they really become convinced of its correctness and humanity, and if they see the party figures and organs as champions of their lasting interests.

On the basis of everything said so far, we must make all necessary conclusions about the contents, methods, and cadres of party propaganda. Now, really all Communists—from the general secretary to the rank-and-file Communist—must become propagandists. It is alarming to see that the figures of the citizens' associations become ever more active and insistent in attracting the masses, while the Communists refrain almost completely from polemics.

The task of reassessing the country's development after 1944 now acquires exceptional importance. For this retrospective reassessment, it is necessary to fully open the archives and provide the historians and scientists with all the documents. After comprehensive study, it will be necessary to insert the necessary corrections in history and in historical study and education. Only thus can we establish in a strictly objective manner the merits and responsibilities of the institutions and figures.

The party and people's conscience cannot be put to rest without fully identifying responsibility. Without this, it would be impossible to restore the faith in the party. The guilty conscience will inevitably contradict the truth and will lead to ad hoc solutions.

Such an analysis of the past will enrich us with valuable lessons about our future activity, and simultaneously, will have great educational importance, because it will again confirm the rule that the day of judgment comes sooner or later.

However, a remark is necessary here. One notices the attempts to transfer the responsibility for the deformations and the disastrous situation to Todor Zhivkov only. This neither corresponds with the facts, nor is it ethical. It is necessary to clarify the personal responsibility of all members of the leadership up to 10 November, including the present members of the Politburo, who for a long period of time were in the first echelon of the party leadership, as well as the responsibility of the Politburo as a whole and the Central Committee, which until the last moment used superlatives to greet everything that came out of Todor Zhivkov's mouth, or was done by him. From this point of view, there were many empty places and inaccuracies in the report.

It is necessary to openly and clearly establish the responsibility of all, and do this not with general phrases, but in an analytical manner, because real restructuring can only be done with a clear conscience.

I cannot ignore another sad and rather widespread phenomenon, which drives a wedge in the people's unity—setting the workers' class against the intelligentsia. Recently it publicly emerged in many places.

Setting the workers' class and the intelligentsia against each other is an invention of the personality cult. The cult by definition is contradicted by the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia does not accept anything blindly, because it acquired this attitude from the internal natural laws of the intellectual creativity. The very existence of the intelligentsia and its professional social activity contain a constant threat for the cult.

Setting the workers' class against the intelligentsia is one of the means of neutralizing the intelligentsia. However, to maintain such an attitude toward the intelligentsia in an era when scientific-technical elaborations and their technological application determine the level of labor productivity, and when the most profitable branches of production, including those that bring the most foreign currency, are the branches with high scientific contents, means to assume fatal positions. One of the party's program tasks should be to establish harmonious relations between the people from the direct production and intellectual labor.

The necessity of radically restructuring the party itself as a leading force, acquires primary importance. Without this, the party will be unable to direct the restructuring of society. Its own restructuring must be faster than restructuring in all other spheres of social life. However, for now, in many aspects the party lags behind the processes.

Simultaneously, the party must cope with the strongly undermined confidence of the people in it. Recent sociological studies show that the party's authority has significantly fallen, and continues to fall. However, because of this, the authority of the citizens' associations is growing. I hope that the opposite tendency will emerge after this plenum. Let us hope so.

There is a reason for the undermined confidence in the party. To a large extent, the party was turned into an instrument of personal power. It is necessary that it realizes its responsibility in this area and do what is necessary in order to prevent the emergence of such a shameful situation in the future. The Central Committee became almost a robot for automatic and unanimous voting. In the last 2-3 years, ever-more-voluminous documents signed by the first leader appeared, and all of them had claims of making important contributions. All those documents were approved by acclamations, and each one of them used to set a new record in terminological demagoguery and empty phrases.

On the basis of my personal impressions, I can say that the atmosphere in the Politburo was apologetic. The pointing out of separate weaknesses was made by certain comrades within the context of comprehensive glorification. As far as I am concerned, while during a certain period I myself understood certain truths and found the courage to criticize some issues, I nevertheless was a part of this robotization of the Central Committee. Now I am ashamed of this and have no intention of hiding my personal responsibility.

The primary party organizations were obliterated. The party charter was crudely violated, despite the fact that it contains marvelous provisions about democracy. The Central Control-Auditing Commission was turned into an appendage of the general secretary.

Unfortunately, one month after the replacement of Todor Zhivkov, things have not essentially changed.

The Politburo acts in the old manner. It adopts operational-administrative decisions in all areas of social life. Nothing has been done during the last month to separate the functions of the party and state. As deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, I am in charge of the intellectual sphere. The Politburo already adopted several decisions related to this sphere. I was not asked or informed about any of them, and learned about the decisions from the press. I think that this in an incorrect practice, which must be eliminated.

I must admit, I was depressed when I left the 8 December plenum—the first plenum I attended after my Central Committee membership was restored.

First. The plenum made a significant step forward with the personnel changes it conducted. However, they were prompted first of all by the spontaneous pressure from the bottom. On the one hand, this proves that the party leadership lags behind the events. On the other hand, this means that the analysis of the Central Committee related to personnel issues, and conducted after 10 November, was not sufficiently profound and prudent.

Second. Some 26 persons were ousted from the Central Committee, however, not a word was said about the motives of their ouster, except what was said about Todor Zhivkov. How long will we sustain this inadmissible practice?

Third. From what I understand, at least some of the comrades, who were relieved of their Central Committee membership, have not been invited to a preliminary talk by the Central Committee leadership. This is another crude violation of the party style.

Fourth. During the entire duration of the plenum, Comrade Lukanov, who is chairman here, openly strived to restrict the activity of the Central Committee members. To restrict the activity of the Central Committee just when it started to wake up, and at such fateful moments for the party, is a total paradox.

The following conclusions emerge after everything that was said here: Not only the months and weeks, but the days that lay ahead of us will have fateful importance for our party and socialism in our country. Time has given us a last chance. If we do not rise to the level of the requirements and do not use the time, the consequences will be fatal. Our party, which has a remarkable combat history and has served the people and progress, might not reach its 100th anniversary, or might mark it as an opposition party.

This plenum is making an important step forward with Comrade Petur Mladenov's report and the statements of the participants; however, many issues must be still clarified, and much work must be done. For all this we must mobilize all our forces.

Lukanov Answers Mikhaylov

AU1912192689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 89 p 6

[Statement by Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum in Sofia on 12 December—first paragraph is RABOTNICHESKO DELO introduction]

[Text] After the pause, Belcho Belchev, who chaired the session, said that after a brief meeting, the Politburo had proposed to the plenum that Andrey Lukanov, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and Central Committee, make certain clarifications about Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov's statement.

I would like to correct the chairman. Not "about" but "in connection with the statement of Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov."

I would like to stress that the Politburo is not concerned with the critical tone and remarks contained in that statement. On the contrary, we greet the critical character of the discussion conducted at this plenum. This critical discussion is absolutely necessary and healthy under the present conditions. However, we think that the criticism that is expressed, must be principled, honest, and constructive, and permeated with a sense of responsibility for the party and the people at an exceptionally complex and dynamic stage of the process of restructuring.

Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov's statement requires a more profound analysis from the point of view of the correctness of the theses and claims it contains. Now we shall refer to several aspects only.

First of all, it expressed the opinion that the present leadership is lagging behind the development of the events and that it even is not completely clear what is happening in the country and what the situation is, and that the initiative is controlled by other forces and factors, rather than by the party leadership.

We think that this is not an objective assessment based on the facts. For a brief period of time, under conditions of exceptional dynamics and inability to predict the processes in our social life, the new leadership accomplished significant work, something that is confirmed by the following facts:

A report was prepared for this Central Committee plenum. It contains a broad assessment of the situation in the country, (the majority of the comrades who spoke confirmed the correctness of this assessment), and a package of measures in the socioeconomic and state-social sphere of party work. The development of this package of proposals for the Central Committee discussion, by itself, was a difficult task that required time and tension.

A session of the National Assembly was conducted, at which the necessary decisions about the composition of the state power organs, the repeal of Article 273 of the Penal Code, amnesty, and so forth, were adopted. A new session of the National Assembly has been prepared together with the leadership of the parliamentary groups. It will have an exhaustive agenda, something that also was the subject of a profound preliminary review.

Meetings were conducted with the party aktivs and labor collectives. The general secretary had meetings with workers, the intelligentsia, students, and other units of our society. Members of the leadership also met with students on 8 December.

An important meeting of the general secretary took place in Moscow with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We shall review the results of this meeting at the present plenum.

This is not a full list; however, it implies that the new BCP leadership is developing intensive activity and has a sense of responsibility to the party and the people at the present moment. It is unjust and not objective to claim that the initiative has been lost, as Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov says.

Critical remarks were expressed about the manner of conducting the 8 December plenum, and the claim was made that the decisions of that plenum were adopted almost under the pressure of external factors and the street.

First, there is nothing shameful in the fact that a political party takes into consideration public opinion. On the contrary, this is precisely what it should do if it is a serious political party.

Second, the decisions of the 8 December plenum must be assessed primarily from their political aspects, rather than the procedural one, regardless of the fact that procedure has its importance. The reaction of the public to the plenum's decisions then shows that the decisions were timely and absolutely correct. Sociological studies show that they have been approved by 95 percent of our population. Even the informal organizations admit that those decisions created a new situation and prevented the escalation of social tension in the country. Thus, to claim that the plenum's decisions are a negative aspect in the Central Committee's work, means a lack of understanding of what really is happening in our social life.

Finally, I would like to stress again that criticism, pluralism, and discussion are especially necessary now in the meetings and work of the Central Committee; however, the final goal of this critical discussion must be the unity of the party and its unity of action in the interest of renewal and the new course we began on 10 November. From this point of view, each of us must succeed in placing the interests of the party and people above his personal, and more importantly, above his selfish interests and feelings. As far as the insinuation addressed at some members of the Politburo, who have been members for a long time, is concerned, I fully leave this to Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov's conscience, because the people have already assessed their behavior and sense of civic and party responsibility.

Interior Minister Discusses Department 6

AU1912163989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 p 3

[Replies of Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, to "questions put to him by editorial board of OTECHESTVEN FRONT in connection with complaints from citizens and readers' letters"; date and place not given—"A Legal, Civilized, and Humanitarian Way To Defend Society's Interests and Citizens' Rights and Liberties"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Question] You clearly accept a commitment to society with the program for the future image of the Interior Ministry organs that you have described, albeit in incomplete form. However, let us go back somewhat in time. What prompted the formation of Department 6?

[Tanev] To the contemporary Bulgarian citizen, and especially in the eyes of the younger generation, certain conceptions and decisions of the past seem incomprehensible, and maybe even arbitrary [samotselni]. This department of the State Security was formed in 1968 to counteract the tactic adopted by the West at that time of making the most effective use of "peaceful" and "flexible" forms to subvert the socialist system. As far as I am aware, similar decisions were also made in other socialist states. People remember the officially proclaimed doctrine concerning "erosion of socialism from within."

The department's principal task was to counteract the subversive activities of a number of special services and Western centers with an anti-Bulgarian orientation, because their actual activities contained many features of an intelligence nature, including utilization of conspiratorial forces and means.

During this period, the department unmasked a number of attempts by emissaries and foreign centers to form illegal structures in Bulgaria, for the illegal import and distribution of literature that was highly defamatory in content. Under the legislation, which remains in force today, such acts constitute gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During the last 10 years, 243 cases of crimes of such a nature against the People's Republic of Bulgaria have come to court, and 372 persons were sentenced.

It is right to remind oneself that the intervention of the security organs prevented Bulgarian citizens from committing seditious crimes.

Our country is at a geographic and political crossroads. The very fact that Bulgaria possesses a great cultural and historical inheritance increases the interest of certain circles within and outside the country in illegally acquiring cultural treasures. During the period since 1986 alone, the workers of the department prevented the illegal export of treasures representing a unique intellectual achievement of the Bulgarian nation. The archive of the Macedonian-Edirne Liberation Movement was saved. The National Arts Gallery received back 250 canvases; hundreds of old printed books were restored to the National Library; and the crypt of Aleksandur Nevski Church received back hundreds of icons. Unique gold and silver objects with a total catalog value in excess of U.S. $5 million were handed over to Bulgarian museums.

In the conditions of increasing openness and freedom of travel, the appetites of these dishonest persons are whetted. For this reason, our historical and cultural treasures must be reliably protected. The people expect the organs of the State Security to carry out their work competently in this respect, work that serves the best interests of humanity and the nation.

One of the most important tasks of this counterintelligence department is to combat terrorism. The Bulgarian public is well aware of the explosions at Plovdiv Station, the Sliven Hotel, Varna Airport, and on board Train No. 326 at Bunovo Station, as well as the defusing of the explosive device on the main beach at the Druzhba Tourism Complex in 1986. All the people were stirred by the dramatic events that took place in front of the International Hotel at Zlatni Pyasutsi and the subsequent efforts (luckily successful) to rescue the two children taken hostage by the criminal extremists. I regret I cannot quote the names of the hundreds of officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who took great risks and were subjected to immense psychological strain. However, there is no reason why I cannot inform you that during the last 10 years, 33 investigations have been conducted into cases of preparing for and carrying out terrorist activities, in the course of which 81 persons were investigated.

Thus, the department in question was not set up to control the Bulgarian intelligentsia and keep a watch on the new ideas. The tasks in the campaign against the so-called ideological sabotage were carried out only by individual units of the department, within the framework of the legislation existing at the time.

[Question] How, then, did the opinion arise that the intelligentsia was little short of a priority target for the department?

[Tanev] I admit that you are asking me a difficult question, one that cannot be answered truly within the framework of revelations about the Ministry of Interior Affairs, or in a single assessment. Let us rely on the facts. It cannot be denied that the security officials were guided in their actions by the existing laws. Certain parts of the Penal Code, such as the recently repealed Article 273, were open to extremely broad interpretation. In relation to individual citizens taking part in independent organizations, there existed a real possibility of subjectivism, and even, in certain cases, unscrupulousness. However, I still believe that matters did not descend to the state of a reckless, accusatory deviation. During the last 10 years, 32 cases involving 52 people have been investigated.

The insufficient precision of the concept "ideological sabotage" created a possibility, under the banner of the struggle against this, to describe the critical stands made by individual persons in a manner not justified by the law. The point of conflict proved to be the assessment of the social processes, and the forecasts and recommendations put forward by individual citizens on the basis of their own scientific and creative tasks and interests. In practice, higher political interests become identified with individual security organs, which inevitably leads to political methods and public dialogue being supplanted by administrative pressure and manipulation of the individual.

This line of action can have no future in a civil society and the law-governed state of this society. It is for this reason that we are proceeding toward the radical step of disbanding the structures for combating ideological sabotage that have already outlived their time. However, society has an interest in the effective defense of constitutional order and the citizens' rights and liberties that this order guarantees. It is clear that we will have to wage a struggle against terrorism, against the theft and dissipation of cultural and historical treasures, against outrages and injuries to human dignity, against the incitement and organization of unrest, and against the creation of illegal structures aimed at forcibly overthrowing the system of society and the state. We are obliged to propose appropriate structures to perform the above-mentioned functions that are essential for society. At the same time, without waiting for the basic legal structure to be totally revised, the government, jointly with the Ministry of Justice and the chief State Prosecutor's Office, has already adopted a decision to propose changes within the near future to the Penal Code and the Law on the People's Militia.

[Question] What will be the fate of the employees from the disbanded department?

[Tanev] We are inevitably concerned with their fate from the professional and human viewpoint. They are employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, possess the necessary qualifications for work, and are at the leadership's disposal. Naturally, an area will be found in which to make use of these cadres in the name of socialism and its restructuring.

As far as the other aspect contained in your question is concerned, I wish to stress that the fulfillment of the set tasks imposed on the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has never been and cannot be a matter of personal choice, but a question of professional duty and service discipline, which are characteristic of any system with a military-type structure.

[Question] At the Central Committee plenum you were asked a question about the monitoring of telephone conversations and other forms of control. At that time, you gave a definite reply. Do you have anything to add to what you stated?

[Tanev] The question is a perfectly fair one and, irrespective of my answer at the plenum, if we carefully follow the mass media it can be seen that it continues to disturb the public.

I would like to emphasize that on isolated occasions the detection of criminal attempts may make such control necessary. Here I am referring to the deliberate and lawful curtailment of the rights and liberties of citizens engaged in criminal acts. This is a specific activity that the organs of security and public order in every state, without exception, cannot avoid using. What is more, the world organizations for long-range communication equipment and postal communications, of which Bulgaria is a member, as well as our own internal legislation, oblige us to carry out such control over communications, within the framework of the fight against terrorism, the illegal arms trade, conveying and trading in narcotics, the distribution of pornography, and in the detection of dangerous crimes. However, a fixed procedure has been established for this control: Arguments and documentary proof have to be presented to the Prosecutor's Office, showing that the matter in question really concerns a crime that presents a high degree of danger to society in the sense of the Penal Code—terror, murder, distribution of narcotics, organized crime, and so on.

All measures of control implemented in another manner have been and will remain manifestations of lawlessness. This is the answer we give to the inquiries and commentaries made by Bulgarian Television.

What else should I mention? The sensitivity of this activity has always been a concern of the ministry's leadership, because on the one hand effective actions have to be taken in the fight against serious crime, that is, in the final analysis, in order to defend citizens' constitutional rights and liberties; on the other hand, there is a real danger of violating the liberties of innocent citizens as a result of illegally employing severe means for the protection of society. We clearly need an accurate yardstick, the guarantee of the law, in order to prevent any deviation from the established procedures or any compromising of these procedures. First, the sole guarantee that can exist for this is our own scrupulousness as a ministry leadership. This is why we must advance further, following the example of the developed law-governed states. Second, information properly obtained from this control should be presented to the person concerned and his attorney; and third, such information should be accepted as evidence in the penal process.

This is the correct, civilized, and humanitarian way to protect society's interests and the citizens' rights, and this obliges us to nurture a developed, highly sensitive legal and moral consciousness on the part of the Bulgarian citizen.

[Question] Do there exist any manifestations of extremism? May these be regarded as some sort of normal statements that contain elements of imposing dictate by words, at the expense of pursuing an equal, civilized dialogue?

[Tanev] Your question is an interesting and topical one. However, without trying to offend you, I do detect elements in it that may lead us astray. Accordingly, let us explain ourselves quite clearly.

One should define as extremist any behavior that deviates to the extreme from the established norms of society. The law defines as crimes extremist acts that are especially dangerous for society and the individual, such as terror, sabotage, and wrecking. By applying the full severity of the law, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has waged in the past and will continue to wage a struggle against such forms of extremism.

In specific conditions, certain statements—written or telephoned, which contain elements of oral dictate, specific threats of violence or of settling accounts privately, or elements of pressure toward these—are also defined as crimes under the law. Accordingly, these also come within the sphere of the legal competence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

As far as extremist deviations from moral standards or the modern civilized standards of conducting a dialogue are concerned, these are problems that should be dealt with by society itself, by the people. Only they have the right to determine the extent of the threat and the appropriate way of counteracting it.

I think we have already talked about some of the consequences of drawing a line between the law and morals.

Thank you.

Daily Views Agrarian Party's New Draft Program

AU1612173489 Sofia BTA in English 1504 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) is called to turn into an independent, prestigious political party with its own position in the political, social and economic life of the country, stresses ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME today in an article headlined "Basic Trends for the Working Out of a BZNS Programme."

The document, which will be discussed by the Allied Agrarians in the country, stresses the necessity to unite the members, including the ones who have gone in the opposition or passed through jails. Only thus it is possible to guarantee the political objectives and tasks of the Agrarian Party, the article stresses.

In the section "Historic Way" it is said that after 1948 (in the years of socialist construction) the BZNS lost its political independence and began to live in the shadow of another political force. "With its blind obedience and inferior position, it became implicated in the heavy political and economic crisis which Bulgaria suffered," the draft indicates, after which it adds that the BZNS now is coming out of the long political lethargy.

The BZNS declares its main objective the building of Bulgaria as a democratic state, committed to the rule of law, with a highly developed agriculture and efficient economy.

The BZNS is for the restoration of the agrarian youth party.

The party sees Bulgaria as a parliamentary democratic republic with a state head, elected directly by the people, with differentiated legislative, executive and legal powers. The degree of participation of each political force in the country's management should be proportional to the received vote of confidence through free, direct and secret elections, the document reads.

The BZNS declares itself about the differentiation of the party and state power, and the founding of political parties only on the basis of the territorial principle. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defence, the courts, the Prosecutor's Office, the Committee for Television and Radio and the BTA should be independent from the political parties.

The BZNS backs the right of Bulgarian citizens for public protest and strikes against political and social injustice.

As regards the economic policy, the accent is placed on the principle of market economy, on the full-valued expression of the three basic forms of property: the cooperative, the private and the state.

The BZNS stands for independent trade unions, for freedom of speech, press And information, for independent education and creative unions, for freedom of religion and religious propaganda.

The draft places the accent on the need of unity of the nation and strengthening of relations with all Bulgarians round the world.

The BZNS's supreme aim is the protection of sovereignty, national independence and national interests.

Reactions to Incidents, Unrest in Romania Reported

Human Rights Group Appeal

LD1912183989 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The committee of the Czechoslovak public for human rights and humanitarian cooperation today expressed deep concern over reports about the current developments in Romania.

In a telegram sent to the Romanian Government, the committee stressed the need for strict observance of human rights and commitments embodied in international documents, which were signed also by Romania.

Initiative Group Statement

LD1912200189 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence today called on the Romanian state leadership not to use violence in exercising the state power ever more but, on the contrary, to immediately and together with other East European countries to embark on the road towards freedom, democracy and respect for human rights.

In their statement on the events in Romania, the two initiatives stressed that the brutal action of the Romanian power bodies against demonstrators in Timisoara, Arad and other Romanian towns take place at the time when all Czechs and Slovaks pay attention to the democratic changes in their own country and when it seems that the idea of a common European home is no longer a remote utopia.

Students Urge Break

LD1912231189 Prague CTK in English 2222 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The National Coordinating Students Committee called on the Czechoslovak Government today to rescind all inter-state agreements with Romania and to sever diplomatic ties with that country.

In a statement delivered to CTK the committee asked the government "to condemn the trampling down of human rights in Romania and make its stand known also at international forums, to reassess its present policy towards Romania, to rescind all its inter-state agreements with Romania and sever diplomatic ties with that country."

The statement appealed also to the population of Czechoslovakia to put lighted candles in their windows at 2100 GMT at Christmas eve to display their solidarity and sympathy with the people of Romania.

Joint 1990 Trade Agreement With GDR

AU1912104989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Dec 89 p 7

[CTK report from the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] The trade exchange between the GDR and the CSSR will amount to more than R3 billion next year. The appropriate agreement was concluded by GDR and CSSR Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade, D. Lemke and M. Cuker, in Berlin on Wednesday [13 December].

GDR Ambassador, U.S. Congressman Received

AU1812131589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 8

[Unattributed CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, CSSR foreign minister, received Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador and doyen of the diplomatic corps in the CSSR, in the Czernin Palace in Prague. H. Ziebart conveyed his congratulations to J. Dienstbier on being appointed to the post of CSSR foreign minister.

Thomas M. Foglietta, democratic member of the U.S. House of Representatives, met in Prague with Jiri Dienstbier, CSSR foreign minister. Shirley Temple-Black, U.S. ambassadress to the CSSR, was present at the meeting.

Army Representatives Meet U.S. Congressmen

AU1912160889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report from the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Representatives of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army met with members of the U.S. Congress, Herbert H. Bateman, Robert W. Davis, and Dennis M. Hertel, in Prague on Friday [15 December]. The American guests were interested in the present standing and tasks of our Army. Issues connected with disarmament processes, prospects for the development of the military-political groupings, and problems with maintaining military parity in Europe were extensively discussed.

Hope for Most-Favored-Nation Status Voiced

AU2012075389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 89 p 2

["al"-signed report: "For an Open Economy; The Nearest Objectives of Our Foreign Trade"]

[Excerpts] Prague (own correspondent)—At a news conference in Prague, Jiri Nemec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, spoke about topical issues concerning the economic cooperation with the nonsocialist countries. He stressed that we will strive for a greater openess of our economy vis-a-vis the world, especially vis-a-vis the nonsocialist countries. The current development of the political situation could favorably influence this process.

The European Community and its member countries will be the main objective of our initiatives. Next year, we would like to conclude a broad agreement with the European Community on cooperation which would be more detailed and more advantageous than the still valid agreement on trade in industrial products, which was concluded in December last year. That, of course, will mean greater demands on the quality of our products, on their "convertibility."

There is hope that in the not so distant future the United States will grant us the so-called most-favored-nation status, Jiri Nemec said. [passage omitted] This, of course, would substantially increase the competetiveness of our products on the American market. [passage omitted]

Italian Socialist Party Leader Returns Home

LD1712210589 Prague CTK in English
1845 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 17 (CTK)—At present Czechoslovakia has all prerequisites for advancing fast. Isolation from Europe has been the most serious obstacle to this, Italian Socialist Party General Secretary Bettino Craxi told a press meeting here today.

Prior to his departure home, he said that first of all it is necessary to install free political institutions and political balance, taking account of all problems of the new situation, indispensable changes and delicacies in foreign policy. He also said Italian industry was ready for investments in Czechoslovakia and for helping to modernize its economy.

Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television and representatives of the Italian Socialist Party in the European Parliament who was in Bettino Craxi's delegation said that he himself never regarded the normalization regime in Czechoslovakia as a leftist one, he saw in it a conservative force which contributed to the discredit of socialism. He pointed out that the existence of a political left of a new type that would defend the interests of the low-income social strata will be indispensable in Czechoslovakia in the period of economic changes.

Jiri Pelikan also stated that Czechoslovakia as a neutral country is a realistic prospect. Its materialization is, however, dependent on the disintegration of military-political blocs in Europe.

RUDE PRAVO Interviews Karel Urbanek

AU1112165389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 8 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Zdenek Porybny, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, in Prague on 7 December: "Reviving the People's Trust in the Ideals of Socialism; Karel Urbanek's Interview to RUDE PRAVO"]

[Text] Prague (RP)—Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], granted an interview to RUDE PRAVO on Thursday [7 December]. In replying to Zdenek Porybny, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, K. Urbanek explained why the extraordinary party congress is to be convened earlier than envisaged, and spoke about the current situation in the party and the society.

[Porybny] The party members are unambiguously in favor of convening the extraordinary party congress sooner than was originally planned. What is your view on this matter?

[Urbanek] I am in favor of an earlier date, mainly because of the extraordinary situation in the country and the party, but also because of the party's diminishing influence on the political and social processes currently taking place in our country. The party has to be headed by a Central Committee that is equipped with a structure and standards that are up to the demands of the times. The Communists also need a democratically adopted program of action, around which they can rally and regain the citizens' trust. Thus, it is impossible either to procrastinate or to waste time—from the political viewpoint, time is now worth more than gold for the party.

[Porybny] But the date was originally set in keeping with the statutes...

[Urbanek] True, but most CPCZ Central Committee members have expressed a different view, and we must respect it.

[Porybny] The primary organizations have been calling for direct elections of congress delegates. Likewise, many party members have been pointing out that the two-stage system of electing the delegates will not permit the adoption of adequate decisions for changing the party management structures. Has the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium taken these warnings into account?

[Urbanek] It has; and the consequence is that the planned regional party conferences have been cancelled. The delegates to the extraordinary congress will be elected directly at the district conferences, according to the usual ratio of one delegate per 1,000 party members. I believe that this should dispel the fears of many party members that the selection of delegates will be somehow manipulated; at the same time, it will speed up preparations for the extraordinary congress itself. It has already been mentioned that the district conferences will naturally have an opportunity to propose the names of new Central Committee members and candidate members, and also the names of new members of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission.

[Porybny] The original date of the extraordinary congress was set by the party's Central Committee at its session. Why was this congress not convened?

personal courage to do so, an objective, critical, analytical approach to the development of the party and society. Thus, they can also objectively assess the present situation and find solutions.

[Zabojnik] What is the composition of the Action Committee like?

[Bolvansky] It has 24 members. Together with ranking workers such as Michal Blanar of the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice; Milan Pruzinec of the Cigel Mine in Prievidza; Alexander Szabo from the Dusla enterprise in Sala; or Anna Abelicova from the ZVL enterprise in Skalica, the committee there also includes well-known personalities from Slovak economic, scientific, and cultural life—for example, Vladimir Cirbes, Herbert Durkovic, Vladimir Minac, and others.

[Zabojnik] What is your most important task?

[Bolvansky] The preparations for the extraordinary CPSL Congress, which is slated for 17 December, with respect to its content, organization, and cadres. We are intensively working on that already. However, one has to say that the manner of working to date leaves something to be desired. Everything concerning the preparations for the extraordinary CPSL Congress is assessed collectively.

[Zabojnik] What material will the congress assess?

[Bolvansky] There will be two things to discuss. First, there will be a report on the causes of the present situation in society and some solutions for the work of the party in Slovakia in the coming period. Additionally, there will be material which will express the CPSL platform for a revolutionary renewal of the party and society. What is involved is the formulation of concrete tasks in the period up to the regular CPSL Congress. Despite the great effort to make the material as complete and as objective as possible, one can expect that before their approval at the extraordinary CPSL Congress, the delegates will make many recommendations and additional proposals to define the changes in the position and the activity of the party under conditions of political plurality. The delegates to the extraordinary congress will receive the second report before the congress opens so that they can acquaint themselves with it in greater detail.

[Zabojnik] The Action Committee now has replaced the ranking bodies of the CPSL Central Committee, a matter from which other duties also arise.

[Bolvansky] The first session of the Action Committee elected its narrower leadership, which addresses all operative and topical tasks of the party, also outside the framework of the preparations for the extraordinary congress. Involved are matters that have to be decided immediately and without postponement.

[Zabojnik] When will the Action Committee of the CPSL Central Committee wind up its work?

[Bolvansky] With the election of the new CPSL Central Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat at the extraordinary congress.

[Zabojnik] I thank you for the interview.

CPCZ Officials on Conferences, Membership

LD1112224189 Prague CTK in English
2102 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 11 (CTK)—Extraordinary conferences of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were held in all 127 districts and 54 conferences took place within the Czechoslovak People's Army during the weekend, spokesman for the Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium Josef Hora announced at a regular news conference here today.

He characterized the discussions as open and critical, especially as regards the former party leadership, incorrect methods of its work and insufficiently operative activity of party bodies and its apparatuses at all levels in the past few days when there was no united political leadership of party organizations.

In spite of the richness and variety in opinions and even antagonistic speeches delivered in the framework of the discussions, the extraordinary district conferences of the Communist Party can be described as matter-of-fact and constructive, Josef Hora underlined.

The conferences expressed support for the convocation of an extraordinary Communist Party congress in an earlier term and for party activities till the 18th congress included in the draft action program. The majority of delegates expressed the opinion that primary organizations should continue to be active at workplaces and that other political parties and initiatives should be enabled to carry out their activities as well, Josef Hora said, adding that some conferences were attended also by representatives of the Civic Forum, the Democratic Forum of Communists, striking students etc.

Presidium member and secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee Ondrej Saling stressed the need for general revival of the party, adding that the new leadership is striving to solve the problems by political means. "We want to part with the administrative bureaucratic methods of its activity, revive the party personally and prepare it for work in the conditions of political pluralism...the extraordinary conferences showed clearly that there are enough good communists in the party able to revive it on the principles of humanism", he said.

Josef Hora announced that the party had 1,721,085 members and candidate members on January 1, 1989. This number dropped to 1,697,745 till October 1. 24,500 Members have returned their membership cards after the events of November 17. 531 Out of the 48,000 primary organizaitons have ended their activities. The are striving to chase the CPCZ out of this political scene, which they are declaring should be pluralist?

[Valek] Obviously, we will agree that not all political forces can be suspected of doing what you are saying they do. After all, also among them are those who actually caused the movement forward. By this I mean the students. The impact of their attitudes lies in the process of changes also within the Communist Party, its new approach to reality, which corresponds to the distribution of forces in society. I think that the members of the party are also glad that they can say goodbye to the legacy of neo-Stalinism, that they can breathe and think freely, without risking being suspected of revisionism.

[Lipavsky] However, there are political forces which have begun to form themselves very militantly.

[Valek] These are the people who apparently do not reckon on the Communist Party as a partner when it comes to shaping the further development in the CSSR in the future. They are not at all interested in democracy, but rather in the monopoly on power which they would like to seize.

[Lipavsky] Under these conditions, we could probably expect one big monologue. One can hear it already.

[Valek] I do not think that anything like that could last for long. After all, our people are prudent, democratically minded. In our party we too—together with all progressively minded and honest people—must do all we can to prevent something like from happening.

[Lipavsky] Whom do you regard as our party's ally?

[Valek] Our ally is everyone who stands by the positions of a socialist society. And in the present situation it is not important whether the socialist society is led by the Communist Party or other grouping with a leftist orientation. However, the question should not be: socialist or not.

[Lipavsky] My opinion is that the structures and forms of the work of the Central Committee and its Presidium must also be adapted to the new situation in order for the party to be capable of action.

[Valek] True, much must be changed. If I were to exaggerate, I would say that everything must be changed because, let us realize this, we are dealing with a political movement whose characteristic feature is self-government, self-regulation, and self-organization. This, when compared with the party apparatus and the mechanisms with which we ensure the implementation of party resolutions, creates an imbalanced situation vis-a-vis those self-governing and self-regulating elements of social movement. These self-governing organizations or associations need, as we see, very little time to convey one or another instruction to people, whereas we still need diproportionally more time to do this, sometimes even whole days.

[Lipavsky] But why not learn, for example, in special-interest organizations and from the aforementioned self-governing associations?

[Valek] That is exactly it. In the special-interest organizations of the National Front the mechanisms of their activity function far better, they are more flexible than ours.

[Lipavsky] What is you opinion about the various political groupings or platforms which have sprung up of late near or within the party?

[Valek] My opinion is that our party should be a certain starting point for those different platforms which do not dissociate themselves from its program or from the draft of the program of action. In their existence, I see the possibility of a certain mutual competition for the party's best point of departure to resolve the crisis situation and its policy in general. The important thing is to concentrate around us and within the party all creative, progressive forces of society.

[Lipavsky] That, of course, depends on the quality of the party apparatus, on its comprehension this need...

[Valek] Certainly. We must give preference to quality rather than quantity—in the broad moral, professional, and political sense of the word. In other words, the question of exchanging some people for others, while reducing the apparatus in general, must be subordinated to this viewpoint, in which organizational talent is also the yardstick.

[Lipavsky] I thank you for the interview.

Bolvansky Interviewed on Upcoming CPSL Congress

AU2012092889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Pavel Bolvansky, chairman of the Slovak Communist Party's (CPSL) Action Committee, by Oldrich Zabojnik; date and place not given: "Preparations for the Extraordinary CPSL Congress; The Initiative Is in the Hands of the Action Committee"]

[Text] The Action Committee of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] was elected after the resignation of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPSL Central Committee. We have asked its chairman, Pavel Bolvansky, who has been a member of the CPSL Central Committee since 1986 and who was one of its secretaries in the past 5 months, why it was founded.

[Bolvansky] It was impossible to elect a new Presidium and Secretariat from the existing CPSL Central Committee. Some members have been in it for several consecutive periods, and thus, one could not expect from them a change of views, thinking, and behavior from one day to another. In an exceptional situation one has to work much more operatively [operativne]. Therefore, in the Action Committee there are those CPSL Central Committee members who have displayed more than once, and also in the past, when you had to possess

[Urbanek] I will be frank: The present Central Committee no longer represents the majority of party members; by its hesitant attitudes and its politically untenable insistence on a verbatim adherence to rules which have become outdated, it has failed to convince the people of its ability to act in the present extraordinary situation.

Moreover, the time has come for certain comrades to leave the Central Committee—in fact, I believe that this is long overdue; and the same applies to comrades who bear the heavy responsibility for bringing about the present situation in the party and the society.

[Porybny] The party members and also the broader public regard the CPCZ's draft program of action as a radical parting of the ways with the former bureaucratic understanding of socialism, as the basis for bringing about a radical turn in the CPCZ's strategy and tactics. Can you assess the course taken to date by the discussion in party organizations?

[Urbanek] I was truly glad of the broad support for the really new ideas and principles contained in the program of action—of the general agreement that it is inevitable to part ways for all time with everything that has become obsolete, that contradicts the substance of Marxism-Leninism and is connected with the distorted Stalinist concept of building socialism.

I respect the fact that former party members, but also many people outside the party, have most responsibly and constructively expressed their views on the draft program of action. In fact, this draft expresses the will of our party to win the democratic competition of ideas and their practical implementation, so as to take the place and play the role for which it is striving. And for this we need support.

[Porybny] The events of 1968 and everything that followed them represent a painful chapter in our party's history. Hundreds of thousands of Communists were either expelled from the party, struck off the membership roster, or left the party of their own accord. On the other hand, most of the remaining members supported the policy of the party leadership which took up office in April 1969—either from conviction or through adherence to party discipline. But now everything is changing. So how do you see cooperation between the former and the latter, within the framework of the party in the process of renewal?

[Urbanek] I think that, in the interest of our party's future, it is imperative to overcome the past conflicts and barriers that separate us as Communists. This is precisely why the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has agreed to the rehabilitation of comrades who have been expelled or struck off, or who have left the party of their own accord in connection with the events of 1968—why it has agreed to their being enabled to immediately take up their former membership. This decision ought to be confirmed by the extraordinary party congress. In this respect, it is necessary to establish an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and understanding in the party, to oppose the settling of old accounts, to oppose disputes about who was right and who was wrong in the past, and who had wronged whom. Today we are concerned with far graver matters. The thing is that we who are convinced that the Czechoslovak road to socialism is historically justified must find our place in the CPCZ and help the party to revive the people's trust in the ideals of socialism.

[Porybny] From this viewpoint, how do you see the relations between the CPCZ and the members of the Obroda [Revival] Club?

[Urbanek] I think that the party leadership's basic decision to critically reassess the approach to the events of 1968 and to declare the "Lessons" document invalid has removed the greatest obstacle to understanding and cooperation. The members of obroda are honorable people, who can do a lot for the benefit of our people, for socialism.

[Porybny] How do you yourself see the party's position, its future, under the new political conditions?

[Urbanek] I proceed from the idea that we have definitely abandoned the concept of the Communist Party's superior position in the political structure of our country. We must change, we must become a modern political party which has mastered the methods of normal political competition and which is implementing them so as to win over the decisive part of the electorate for its program and its implementation. In my view, this can be done solely within the framework of a broad stream of left-wing forces.

[Porybny] And what about the other political parties, and such novel movements as the Civic Forum?

[Urbanek] We cooperate and want to continue to cooperate with the existing political parties as allies in the coalition within the framework of the National Front. However, there is no doubt at all that this will be feasible only if the principle of cooperation on the basis of equal rights is strictly respected. Deplorably, this was not so in the past—and we must learn from this fact.

As for the Civic Forum, we are striving to conduct a dialogue with its representatives, so as to find ways out of the existing situation which would be in keeping with the interests of our people.

[Porybny] Recently, demands were being voiced to abolish the party organizations in workplaces. What are your views on this matter?

[Urbanek] Why should the Communist Party leave the workplaces particularly now, when Civic Forums are being set up in many plants, schools, hospitals, and other institutions where they pursue what are essentially political activities? I believe that not only Communists and Civic Forum should be given access to workplaces, but also other political parties. This, too, is an expression of political pluralism.

[Porybny] What do you consider particularly important in the present tense, nervous situation?

[Urbanek] To preserve common sense, not to succumb to emotions, to tolerate the views of others, and to constantly bear in mind the factthat this country's future is now at stake.

CPCZ Presidium's Valek Interviewed

AU1112173189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Miroslav Valek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Jan Lipavsky; date and place not given: "How Do You See the Situation?"]

[Text] To begin with, let us go back 10 months. Then, on 4 March, we published in a RUDE PRAVO supplement an interview with national artist Miroslav Valek, then newly-elected chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers. In the interview it was also said that people have to be told the truth—even an unpleasant truth. Otherwise those who do not do this will lose trust. At that time, Comrade Valek stressed that no ideological monolith existed in our society, and that if we want to do our job well, we must create a good climate and objective prerequisites for all citizens to be able to live at ease with their consciences.

We have tried to confront those ideas of his from that time with the ideas he holds as a member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium today.

[Lipavsky] Let us begin with what Professor Zdenek Mlynar told MLADA FRONTA a few days ago, while on a brief visit to Czechoslovakia from Austria. He said, among other things, that if the CPCZ now starts to be preoccupied with itself, society will bypass it as if it did not exist. What do you say about this?

[Valek] Be it as it may, the party must occupy itself with itself, that is, with what is absolutely necessary, so that it may become cleansed and rid itself of various deformations. Of course, this process should be rapid, taking into consideration the fact that the party must be present on the political scene at all times. At the same time, it should concentrate not only on its own problems, but also on the problems of the world communist and workers movement, on people who form and realize this movement.

[Lipavsky] I would like to go back to what Professor Mlynar said. Our party, it is alleged, should not address the question of which of the meritorious comrades should stay on, and who, as political ballast of the past, should go. This I do not understand. But I do understand something else, and I agree with it: as Zdenek Mlynar said, the danger should not be allowed to arise that the party will perform a shadow pantomime, while life goes on elsewhere.

[Valek] Look, the party, like society, is undergoing, I would say, a contradictory process. A certain number of people are leaving the party by one "train" and a smaller number are arriving by a second one. But this should not be a mechanical inflow of new members; for example, it should not be enough that someone's term as candidate member is ending. We are interested in those who have demonstrably moral and other qualities, possibly organizational talent. These are the people we need today! Then it cannot be the case that we will perform the proverbial shadow pantomime.

[Lipavsky] Tell me, please, to what extent are you in the Presidium informed about the situation in the party's primary organizations and in districts in general?

[Valek] To tell you the truth, the situation has been changing so rapidly that what is optimal right now immediately becomes something different. However, no matter what the case may be, from the information we are receiving we can figure out what will happen in the new few hours or the next day.

[Lipavsky] In other words, the communication between the base and the party Central Committee is functioning.

[Valek] It functions; but the analytical ability of the apparatus that organizes this flow of information functions less well. We have been trying to rectify this.

[Lipavsky] Could you say what characterizes the situation now, at the moment we are speaking together?

[Valek] Yes, at the risk of simplifying matters a bit. Some of the primary organizations are in the grip of some sort of psychosis of concern, somewhere even fear, and in some cases of panic. One of the most frequently asked questions is what the primary organizations should do? In the coming hours they should get answers to their questions, even though, because of the different situations, they must find them themselves.

[Lipavsky] What would you personally tell the comrades in the primary organizations?

[Valek] Remain in your places, hold your positions! If a Civic Forum exists at a work site, why should there be no CPCZ primary organization. The main orientation is contained in the draft of the program of action.

[Lipavsky] But we are aware of the appeals in the sense of "CPCZ Organizations Out of Enterprises and Plants." We continue to read them in various declarations...

[Valek] The change in the character of political power for which certain people strive must first be resolved in the center, in the parliament, in the government, and in other insitutions, and only then in the lower components. Thus, I see no reason to abandon our positions, give in to pressure, succumb to emotions, and so forth.

[Lipavsky] How would you describe the efforts of those who have emerged on the political scene in the past days and weeks, and who—more or less covertly or overtly—

party has been joined by 1,000 new members during that period and 94 former party members have returned to it again.

The presidential candidature and the term of the elections should be discussed by representatives of all parts of society. A correct man in correct time should become the country's president, Ondrej Saling said at the press conference.

RUDE PRAVO Interviews CPCZ's Mohorita

AU1912161589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Vasil Mohorita, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Jan Lipavsky; date and place not given: "Pouring Pure Wine"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Lipavsky] There are only a few days left before the party's extraordinary congress. In light of what has occurred between the first emergency session of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and now at the district and borough conferences it is my impression that, although the party is the same as it used to be in the past, it already is different. However, in my opinion it must still undergo a process of profound differentiation as regards its approach to the new reality.

[Mohorita] If I had to express it very simply so that everybody will understand it, then our party should be the party of the people in every respect, in the full sense of that word, simply—it should open up itself to the people, be with them, live with them, and I think that you, too, wrote in RUDE PRAVO "be with them when the going is both good or bad," that is, to be the defender of the will of our people and not, as was the case in the past, to transform functions into instruments of manipulation, although some people were passing that off as the leading role of our party.

[Lipavsky] Someone does not have to believe you; he will say Mr, or Comrade Mohorita, you, as Communists, will again want to seize power and repeat history.

[Mohorita] It would be illogicasl if we were to behave differently from the other political parties in a pluralistic system, that is, that we would not want sometimes in the future to be successful in elections—as in 1946. But as long as I live and am able to serve the party, I will do everything to prevent the return of the times when a narrow stratum of ranking functionaries usurped power to the detriment of the whole of the party and other parts of society. What position did we get ourselves into? When someone wanted to achieve something in his life, he had—if nomenklatura applied to the desired place—to be a CPCZ member. It was a sort of royal court accepted thing, and members of other political parties or people without party affiliation were, as it were, second class citizens, not to mention believers. [passage omitted] At the congress we must openly say with what and whom we will part ways and, at the same time, we must radically and from the very foundation change those party structures that are bureaucractic and nonfunctional, including changes in the apparatus. [passage omitted]

[Lipavsky] We have found ourselves in a situation in which, if we want to exert influence on the political and economic events in our country, we must seek and find allies for our policy In my opinion, along the width and breadth of the leftist front. However, at one conference I heard that "pacting" with various platforms within and outside the party is the "betrayal" of the CPCZ's ideological purity.

[Mohorita] What is involved here might be the noncomprehension, or the loss of sense of political reality.

[Lipavsky] This, apparently, is the case. And it might have been forgotten what fate befell those Communist and workers parties in the West which, for the well-known so-called reasons of principle, had closed themselves off, isolated themselves from the outside world, and in the end also lost their influence on political developments in their countries.

[Mohorita] The worst of all would be to stop talking among ourselves, that is, among the various leftist-oriented groups, whether they exist within or outside the party. Actually, until recently this was one of the greatest and key problems of our party. It shut itself off from society and was not able to accept suggestions from the outside, we ceased communicating with other parts of society and began devoting ourselves to ourselves, nomenklatura, paper shuffling, and such like. We became some sort of a "party of bureaucrats," we lost touch with life. Thus, this is not only the case with some of the parties in the West, but also our case. Thus a return to broad-based communuication is in our vital interest. [passage omitted]

[Lipavsky] Let us talk about RUDE PRAVO....

[Mohorita] I noticed that the pages of RUDE PRAVO used to be an arena for various personal duels between the comrades holding highest posts, in the sense that they appear in it most frequently and get the greatest possible exposure. Thanks Heavens, this is over. RUDE PRAVO now faces the issue of fundamental changes in respect of journalistic practice, the change of content, that is, changes to make it possible to compete with other newspapers and become, in the good sense of the word, an attractive, lively newspaper that is well informed, has insight, and presents courageous and critical opinions of events, phenomena, and affairs—also inside the party. [passage omitted] In my opinion, the era of the official, bombastic "government daily" with much useless officialism is over. At least this is how I see it.

[Lipavsky] Someone might suspect you of thinking that RUDE PRAVO should "tear itself way" from the party and become a sort of "independent" newspaper...

[Mohorita] Nothing like that. RUDE PRAVO must be quite a logical catalyst of the party policy and program adopted by the congress. And how the line of the congress will be realized on the pages of RUDE PRAVO is exclusively the affair of experts—in the first place of editors and the editorial board. [passage omitted]

Data on CPSL Membership, Congress Delegates

AU1812192289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Dec 89 p 1

["ed"-signed report: "Direction: Thorough Cleansing of the Party; From the Press Center of the Communist Party of Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— At yesterday's meeting in the Press Center of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], Comrades Pavol Bolvansky, charged with leading the CPSL Action Committee; Emil Polak, head of the center; and Juraj Benkovic, CPSL Central Committee staffer, replied to journalists' questions.

The CPSL Action Committee is of the opinion that the CSSR president should be elected directly by the people from among several candidates.

Commissions are working at all levels of the party which have been set up to probe into instances of abuse of power, personal enrichment, and corruption. They also analyze already concluded cases (Babinsky, Rempo, and others), especially from the viewpoint of a possible breach of legal regulations under pressure. The justification of purchases of villas, houses, and the like is also being examined. The possibility of abolishing personal pensions is being considered. The CPSL Economic Department and the appropriate departments of regional party committees are checking on the utilization of party-occupied buildings, a number of which will be handed over for other purposes.

As for the members base, on 1 October 1989 the CPSL had 451,445 members and candidate members. Until yesterday (according to the data provided by CPSL Regional Committees and the Bratislava CPSL City Committee), 5,796 members had handed back their membership cards. Since 17 November 1989, 445 people in Slovakia have joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 16 of them former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members. A total of 445 of 12,928 primary party organizations have been abolished. [passage omitted]

A total of 888 delegates with a full vote have been elected to the extraordinary CPSL Congress. Their social composition is as follows: 31.7 percent workers, 7.9 percent members and employees of united agricultural cooperatives, 24.1 percent technical and economic staff, and 36.3 percent members of other professions (scientists, physicians, teachers, students, service personnel, pensioners, members of the Armed Forces).

Party Branches Closing; Party Cards Returned

AU1912114589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 89 p 1

[Report by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Alena Ruzkova: "From the CPCZ's Press Center; Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress Will Decide"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The roundtable talks, on the agenda of which were questions connected with the election of the president, and which were attended by the country's decisive political forces, ended only in the early morning hours yesterday [14 December]. [passage omitted]

The press center of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] provided, among other things, the information on the state of the party's membership base. By yesterday, 1,479 primary party organizations concluded their activity and 42,397 party cards were returned to the CPCZ. [passage omitted] But the CPCZ has also registered an increase. In the past few days more than 1,000 new people joined the party ranks. Of the former CPCZ members, 103 Comrades applied for party membership.

Composition of Delegates to CPCZ Congress

AU1912135489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 89 p 1

["val"-signed report: "From the CPCZ's Press Center; The Composition of the Delegates to the Congress"]

[Excerpts] Prague (Our correspondent)—Journalists were acquainted with the results of the elections of delegates to the extraordinary CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Congress in the CPCZ's press center in Prague on Friday [15 December].

According to the formula of 1 delegate per 1,000 members, the extraordinary CPCZ district conferences elected 1,618 voting delegates to the congress. Of their total number, 86 percent are men and 14 percent women. The strongest age groups are the 41 to 50 year age category (40.2 percent), and the 36 to 40 year category (29.4 percent). Workers are represented by 496 delegates, employees in agriculture by 116, technical-economic staff by 308, teachers by 122, and scientists by 31 delegates. Those who joined the party in the 1971-1980 period amount to 50.5 percent. [passage omitted]

Josef Hora, press spokesman for the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, later informed the journalists about the deliberations of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on Friday [15 December], and he answered the question of whether the demand by the Democratic Forum of Communists (DFK) to send their representatives to the extraordinary congress will be complied with, by saying that the possibility is being weighed to resolve the matter by inviting guests to the congress. Moreover, a number of DFK members, including outside Prague, were elected delegates to the congress.

Over 5,000 Communists Leave Party in Nov

LD1812202189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] According to the data from today's news conference at the South Moravian regional committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, more than 5,000 of the overall number of 224,000 Communists have left the party ranks in the last month. Ninety primary organizations were abolished, and the number of employees of the apparatus will be reduced most likely to 45 percent.

Secret Police Not Involved in Congress Preparation

LD1912191989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Czechoslovak Radio at 0630 this morning broadcasted information to the effect that the extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, which is to be held in Prague tomorrow and the day after, is to be secured by several hundreds members of the 5th group of the state secret security corps [zabezpecovat niekolko sto prislusnikov piatej spravy SIB]

The Federal Ministry of the Interior declares that this information is false. No part of the state security corps has taken or will take part in securing the preparation for and course of the extraordinary congress.

CPCZ Extraordinary Congress Opens 20 Dec

LD2012100189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Report by Ladislav Balko from the Czechoslovak Communist Party extraordinary congress in the Palace of Culture in Prague on 20 December]

[Text] The CPCZ's extraordinary congress began at 0900. At the moment procedural questions are on the agenda.

General Secretary Karel Urbanek opened the discussions. He underscored the urgency of the congress, dictated by the need to renew socialism. This is to be achieved through a total change of the party leadership and the discussion of the action program which is to be cleared of the neo-stalinism of recent years.

In his opening speech Karel Urbanek said that all of this is to amount to a general policy line—not mere cosmetic touches. The congress is to last for 2 days and is expected to take place in an atmosphere of conflicts of opinions, criticism, and self-criticism.

The CPCZ general secretary appealed to the delegates to be outspoken and constructive. They should have the future and the fate of the party at heart.

The next speaker was Ondrej Saling, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who chairs the proceedings now. He said that there are 1,524 delegates with the right to vote. Of the 206 members and candidate members of the former Central Committee, only (?18) were elected as delegates to the congress. Also present are 40 delegates of the Democratic Forum of Communists.

The existing statutes of the CPCZ were unanimously abolished by the delegates to the extraordinary CPCZ congress soon after the congress opened.

This is a working congress and some delegates here describe it as a combative one. This was confirmed by the contributions delivered so far. Some of them suggested that the party membership of former Central Committee members should be suspended and there was a concrete proposal for expelling Vasil Bilak from the party.

In approving the congress agenda, one of the delegates suggested that after the main congress address, to be delivered by Karel Urbanek, the CPCZ congress should adopt an open letter to the Romanian communists, condemning the repression now taking place in Romania.

The congress chairman confirmed that the Presidium has already drafted such a letter.

Defense Minister Vacek on Military Service

LD2012064589

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1728 GMT on 19 December carries a live relay of a speech by CSSR Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek at the joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague.

Vacek begins with a reply to a question of Deputy Tomas in connection with a press conference last Friday where Miroslav Vacek spoke about shortening of the basic military service. Vacek says: "I would like to admit self-critically that I did not choose a right time when I revealed some truthful facts to the soldiers who are doing their military service right now—and to whom, unfortunately, these cuts do not apply." As soldiers doing their military service now did think that their time in service would by cut, it had some unfortunate consequences, he says. Vacek continues: "I must say that, perhaps also due to a little less reasonable behavior by some groups of civilians, emotions of soldiers doing their basic military service, already evoked, were incited even further. As a result, in some units of the Czechoslovak Peoples Army, discipline was observed and training went on, but soldiers refused to eat and in this way they made their protest known—that is, by hunger strike. We have chosen very moderate methods of convictions and in a number of units soldiers doing their basic military service comprehended us. Let me tell you: You as citizens of our state could not hold us in esteem if we let some things happen in the Army which are incompatible with the existence of any army in the world."

Vacek says that the leadership of the Army is considering some concessions with regard to the soldiers already doing the basic military service: perhaps shortening the service by 1 to 2 months and letting married soldiers leave earlier. Cutting military service from 24 to 18 months means that the Czechoslovak People's Army must take in yearly 26,000 more soldiers into the basic military service, Vacek says. As the Czechoslovak People's Army has less than 200,000 soldiers, if it let go existing soldiers 6 months earlier, it would mean that by 1 April 40,000 soldiers would be released for whom there would be no substitute, and the same thing would happen by 1 October he continues. This would mean letting go almost half the Army and leave only the least experienced soldiers in the Army. Vacek says, "So far I have heard no politician say that the CSSR should not be a member of the Warsaw Pact. And both the Warsaw Pact and NATO want every participating state to fulfil certain obligations. The CSSR has these obligations too, and among them is also the quota of soldiers which it is to keep in the state of military readiness."

Vacek continues, with regard to the apartments given to Soviet troops—a question which was also asked a few days ago - that the CSSR pledged itself to provide apartments for Soviet soldiers in a treaty about the conditions of the stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory ratified on 18 October 1969. This treaty is still valid, and is an object of negotiations. Vacek then explains that apartments for Soviet soldiers were obtained in four ways: First, the Soviet troops built them themselves, at their own expense. Second, national committees were given funds to build apartments for Soviet soldiers. Third, the Czecoslovak People's Army, which was given a special plan to follow, helped to build these apartments. Fourth, the action company Strojexport built these apartments at the expense of the USSR.

Vacek goes on to say that there are 9,500 of these apartments on the entire territory of the CSSR. Their quality is variable, as Soviet soldiers did not demand as high quality as that to which people in Czechoslovakia are accustomed. They are placed most often in outskirts, in barracks, and so on. People should remember this once these apartmens will become available, he says.

Vacek says that the demand for apartments for Czechoslovak People's Army members are not fully satisfied but they are better off in this respect than the rest of the population, and he declares that should the Soviet troops leave, the Czechoslovak People Army will allow the rest of the population to take them over.

Regarding the travel of soldiers abroad, Vacek says, they can travel in the same way as other citizens. This means that a soldier doing his basic military service can travel to a capitalist state during his holidays. He will only have to inform his commanding officer in order to be given permission to wear civilian clothes for the trip. This also applies to professional soldiers. Vacek says. The law on protection of state secrets remains in force, but it is simplified.

Vacek concludes: "The last question I want to answer is: When will the organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] be abolished in the Czechoslovak People's Army? I have issued Order Number 28 by which the activity of the CPCZ will be abolished in the institutes, organizations, units, and headquarters of the Czechoslovak People's Army from 2 January." Vacek then says that he is also a deputy to the Chamber of Peoples for the Tabor District and a part of Pisek District. During the session, he received a number of petitions from his electorate in which his electors asked him to say at the session that they want the election of president to be carried out in December and that Havel should be considered a presidential candidate and that the election should take the form of acclamation.

Protest Against Jakes' Expulsion From CPCZ

AU1912154189 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Nonparty Members Say No!"]

[Excerpt] Prague— Thousands of our citizens are signing a protest appeal that has appeared in the streets of Prague and, according to reliable reports from the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum, also in other cities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. It states: We, the undersigned nonparty members, protest against M. Jakes and M. Stepan having been assigned into our ranks. We demand that they be expelled from our ranks and returned to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, where they intrinsically belong by virtue of the work they have done all their lives. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Elections, Candidates

Calfa: Havel 'Best Solution'

LD1912152189 Prague CTK in English 1430 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said here today he considers the election of Vaclav Havel as Czechoslovakia's new president the best solution of the present situation. He was delivering the government's program statement to the joint session of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations.

Havel Election 'Almost Certain'

AU2012114489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Report on interview with CSSR Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky by Armin Wolf in Prague on 19 December—recorded]

[Text] Today the mostly Communist deputies of the CSSR Parliament have been lost in amazement. Premier Calfa, a Communist like them, has proposed to elect Vaclav Havel as president—by the end of the year. In his government declaration the premier has proposed to elect a man as president, who, only a few months ago, was considered a public enemy. Even as far as the other items in Calfa's government declaration are concerned, most deputies were probably not sure whether they were not sitting in the wrong house. After all, Communist Premier Calfa presented a program which would have done credit to any conservative politician in the West. The government expressly wants to introduce the market economy. Calfa clearly rejected the so-called third path of a socialist market economy. In such a situation we ought not to experiment with things that have not yet been tested, Calfa said, adding that the market economy is based on the freedom of the people and guarantees a high standard of living. Performance-linked wages and a progressive income tax are to be introduced, price subsidies and monopolies will be eliminated step by step. All forms of ownership will exist side by side in the future. The CSSR koruna is to be made convertible, and the government will try to achieve an association agreement with the EC, Calfa continued. His political promises include a new party law, a press law, new assembly, religion, and election laws, and free elections in the course of the next year. The Socialist Party and the People's Party support the government program, including the election of Vaclav Havel before the end of the year. The deputies of the Communist Party have not yet made a uniform statement. Although they support the economic reform program, only one communist has so far voiced his opinion as far as the presidential elections are concerned: Vote for Havel, he said, and subsequently canceled his membership with the Communist parliamentary group, thus becoming the first maverick deputy in the Prague parliament, so to speak.

Asked about Havel's chances in the elections, Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky, of the Civic Forum said in a break in the session:

[Carnogursky] I do not know what attitude the Communist Party will take toward the election of Havel. However, his election as state president is almost certain. This proposal, namely to elect Vaclav Havel as state president, was included in the government declaration, which means that the fact that Havel runs and his election are simply a reflection of the actual political situation in the CSSR. If the government is interested in a quiet country, it simply had to make this proposal.

[Wolf] Do you think that Havel will still be elected this year.

[Carnogursky] Yes, it is very likely.

[Wolf] Particularly in the economic sphere, the government declaration might have been made in any Western parliament, even by a conservative government. Does this mean that the ideas of the Civic Forum were adopted 100 percent by the government, or has there been any resistance?

[Carnogursky] I think this is true for the sphere of economic policy.

[Wolf] How would you outline in a few sentences your government's economic objectives?

[Carnogursky] We want to transform our economy to the market economy system. This objective is undisputed, all we have to discuss is the pace at which we implement certain details of this transformation.

[Wolf] Do you have the impression that the Communist deputies and the Communist Party support this course?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I do.

[Wolf] Not only in the government, but also the deputies outside the government?

[Carnogursky] Yes, because they do not have any other concepts.

SP Deputies Support Havel

LD1912195789 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—A meeting of the Club of Czechoslovak Socialist Party deputies in the Federal Assembly took place here today before a joint meeting of the Federal Assembly houses.

The deputies reviewed the present political situation and spoke in favour of electing a Czechoslovak president by a direct vote of deputies till the end of 1989 and voiced support for the candidature of Vaclav Havel for the post of Czechoslovak president.

The meeting was presided over by Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Club of Deputies Bohulsav Kucera.

Students Demonstrate for Havel

LD1912223389 Prague CTK in English 2026 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Thousands of students from universities all over Czechoslovakia came to Prague today to demonstrate their support for presidential candidate Vaclav Havel to the deputies of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly holding a session today.

In view of the concern of some deputies, the demonstration, planned to take place in front of the parliamentary building was transferred to Wenceslas Square nearby. After greetings by students from universities from the whole country, the students commemorated the events in Timisoara, Romania, with a minute's silence. After 12.00 GMT all the participants were able to hear Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa's address in parliament.

Members of the international ecological organization Greenpeace held a public press meeting during the demonstration.

The demonstration officially ended at Prague's Wenceslas Square where students who were walking in processions through the streets of the capital from Midday converged late in the afternoon.

They listened to a cassette with a short greeting from Vaclav Havel. The Civic Forum representative assured all participants that never in the future will he forget that it was students who gave the Czechoslovak November revolution an unrepeatable character and asked them not to forget about it themselves.

In the end student of the Theatrical Academy of Arts Martin Mejstrik pointed out inter alia the fact that, regardless of what students have achieved, the Prague National Committee still hesitates to provide a building for the students movement. He called on Slovak students to preserve the unity of the students movement.

The demonstration ended with the singing of the Czechoslovak national anthem.

Havel 'Surprised' by Nomination

LD1912223989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Shortly before 2100, a news conference with Vaclav Havel came to an end. In introduction, Civic Forum Spokesman Mr Dobrovsky read a statement, in which Civic Forum condemns the brutal suppression of demonstrations in some Romanian cities. Vaclav Havel then answered questions, in particular concerning the possibility of him being elected president of the republic. He said that the election is fully in the hands of Federal Assembly deputies. He devoted several observations to the session of our highest legislative organ. He pointed out that he is surprised how almost every other deputy advocates his nomination to the post of president.

As to the policy statement by the federal government, Vaclav Havel said that he fully agrees with it, and that it contains what the representatives of the political parties agreed at the roundtable. Asked whether or not it is possible to reverse the development of events, Vaclav Havel said that given the current international political situation, any turning back is unlikely.

Dubcek: 'Only One Should Win'

LD2012000189 Prague CTK in English 2248 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 13 (CTK)—Alexander Dubceck told CTK and Czechoslovak Radio today that he and Vaclav Havel cannot and do not stand against each other. This is the peculiarity of this election period.

He emphasized that only one should win, i.e. the people of this country, this wonderful national movement which must not come to harm. "This is and will be decisive in my efforts during the final stages of the work of the parliament and the election of the president," Alexander Dubceck said.

He pointed out that he has always stood on the side of the people, and was against violence and malice. "I am for democracy, social justice and humanity...Both me and Vaclav Havel strive for the benefit of the people and the country."

Havel News Conference

LD1912232189 Prague CTK in English 2250 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Civic Forum's representative and presidential candidate Vaclav Havel said today that he has been in permanent friendly contact with Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak Communist Party leader in 1968, and added that his statement that he would not allow a wedge to be driven between himself and Mr Dubcek was not meant personally but applied to the relations of the Czech and Slovak nations.

Asked at a press conference in what way he wanted his wish that Dubcek stand at his side to materialize, Vaclav Havel said some wishes for the nearest future and for later on might materialize though they will not be spoken of too soon. This is connected with the fact that the disintegration of the totalitarian system in a peaceful way within one month and establishment of democracy is not exactly a usual process in history.

Asked whether he had been surprised by Premier Calfa having proposed him to become president today, Havel said that the Government statement was in harmony with all agreements concluded at round-table discussions from which the government arose.

Of his attitude to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Havel said if he were a Communist he would try to turn the party as quickly as possible into a modern political party participating as an equal partner in a pluralist democratic system, a party which earns its living and whose action is intelligible. "I would be glad if it became a partner with whom one can talk and work and who does not regard people who are not its members as inferiors", he said.

In his opinion personalities should play an increasing part in the future while parties should play an ever smaller part and become clubs in which political personalities are born and present themselves. Political parties should not participate in power directly, as the only salvation of this civilization is the liberation of man from being manipulated by all mega-structures which modern man has devised and which are ruining him, Vaclav Havel said.

Election Period Extended

LD2012003389 Prague CTK in English 2317 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Chairman of the House of the People Josef Bartoncik (People's Party) explained at a joint session of the Federal Assembly here today a bill which extends the period for electing a Czechoslovak president to 40 days.

The 14-day period valid so far seems to be very short for holding necessary consultations of political forces in the present serious situation, he said and added that in tune with numerous demands of voters electing a Czechoslovak president by acclamation of the Federal Assembly deputies is proposed. It will be also useful that a new president be elected for a definite term until free democratic elections are held and a new federal assembly constituted.

House of Nations Anton Blazej said in a debate on behalf of the club of Czechoslovak Communist Party deputies that deputies- communists now start to speak in favour of electing a president by the parlaiment. He voiced support to the election by acclamation and reocmmended that one candidate be named for the post of Czechoslovak president at the round table talks on December 22-23.

In the debate 32 deputies—representatives of all political parties an unaffiliated persons agreed with the submitted change and amendment to the constitutional law, with the election of a Czechoslovak president this year and with the candidature of Vaclav Havel for the Czechoslovak Presidency.

The submitted bill was adopted unanimously by the deputies of both houses of the Federal Assembly.

At the end of the session, the deputies approved a statement which said that the Federal Assembly is deeply concerned over the brutal actions conducted these days against Romanian citizens who ise their inalienable right to assembly. The House of the people and the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly therefore demand that the Czechoslovak Government draw conclusions from this situation and give a report on them at a joint session in the nearest future. XX X

Dozens of candles were burning in front of the Romanian Embassy in Prague where students demonstrated against the totalitarian regime and licence of the Romanian Stalinists.

Joint Session 29 Dec

LD2012002789 Prague CTK in English
2321 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today decided to convene a joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations for December 29 in which the Czechoslovak president will be elected and sworn in.

At its session following immediately the conclusion of the joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations, the Presidium declared an amendment to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation which was approved at today's joint meeting of the two chambers.

Federal Assembly Deputies View Government Program

LD2012001789 Prague CTK in English
2051 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Altogether 42 deputies representing all five political parties and unaffiliated persons in the Federal Assembly voiced in a debate here today their renmarks on the Czechoslovak Government's program statement which concerned the issues of economic development in the future and political issues.

Some of the deputies voiced concern over possible negative effects of radical structural changes in the Czechoslovak economy on the standard of living of the people. They put emphasis on a final solution to the question of the election of a Czechoslovak president. In many speeches they conveyed demands of their votes for electing Czechoslovak playwright and Civic Forum representative Vaclav Havel to this post till the end of 1989 at the latest.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier responded to questions of deputies concerning the foreign policy. Commenting on Czechoslovakia's attitude towards the issue of the postwar deportation of Germans from Czechoslovak territory, Jiri Dienstbier said that this question will also be discussed with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the coming meeting of the Czechoslovak-West German border on Saturday. He stressed that "just as the Germans strive and have succeeded in many respects in admitting the national-socialist injustice on our nations, it is our moral duty to take a stand on what was done to innocent German women and children in the area of Znojmno, in the south of Brno, and in may other areas in 1945". The minister added that only in this way can Czechoslovakia get rid of this heritage and within a clean table approach the restoration and promotion of relations between the two countries' peoples.

The Federal Assembly today passed a constitutional law by which the deadline for electing a new Czechoslovak president is prolonged from 14 to 40 days within his office becoming vacant.

The president will be elected in the Federal Assembly by acclamation.

* Draft Constitution Presented by Civic Forum

90EC0160A Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 89 p 4

[Report: "Civic Forum Presents Proposed Principles of New Constitution"]

[Text] The day before yesterday we obtained through the CSTK the wording of the principles contained in the first draft of the new Czechoslovak constitution which was presented by the Civic Forum to the CSSR Federal Assembly. According to information from Jiri Dienstbier, representative of the Civic Forum, the project of drafting the new constitution was undertaken by a group of independent experts. The Civic Forum took it over and is requesting the Federal Assembly to submit the draft without delay for a nation-wide discussion. Since we have at our disposal only the draft of the principles, which were already published yesterday in some dailies, we offer a commentary on the proposed principles. We believe that within the shortest possible time citizens of our country and experts will be able to express their views on the proposed full wording of the fundamental law of the federation and the national republics.

I.

The Czechoslovak Republic is a democratic, socially just state governed by law, seeking cooperation with all states and nations on the basis of their equality and sovereignty. It seeks to build an order which would ensure peace and justice in Czechoslovakia as well as among nations and countries of the world. It respects and fulfills its obligations arising from its membership in the United Nations and from concluded bilateral and multilateral international treaties.

II.

The foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic is the principle of sovereignty, equality, and statehood of the Czech and Slovak nations. The Czech and Slovak nations are guaranteed the right to self-determination, including the right to secede. The rights of other nationalities and ethnic groups living in our common fatherland are fully respected. The principles of sovereign Czech and Slovak republics lead to the logical requirement to confirm them by adopting constitutions of the individual republics which will independently and sui juris determine their internal relations.

III.

Human rights and civil rights and liberties are inalienable and sovereign. All rights and freedoms stemming from international documents (universal, citizen, economic, social, political and cultural rights, the rights of children and women) are guaranteed to the full extent. All citizens are equal without regard to nationality, race, religion, political or other persuasion, origin or social status.

The constitution establishes that what is not forbidden is allowed.

Everyone can claim his right, and if no other legal way is found, the constitution applies directly and everyone can present his appeal for the protection of his rights to the constitutional court.

A curtailment of civil rights and liberties can be effected only by law and only for reasons of protecting the rights and liberties of fellow citizens, in the interest of national defense, protection and creation of the environment, or rightful requirements of morality, public order, and universal well-being in a democratic society.

IV.

The freedom of belief and religious affiliation is guaranteed. The church and religious societies are free, mutually equal, and independent of the state. The state does not have the right to interfere in their internal affairs.

V.

The citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic have only these obligations:

—preserve the environment for their own generation and also for future generations;

—comply with the constitution and other laws, honor citizens' rights and liberties, protect them and develop them;

—defend the country against the invasion by a foreign military power.

Male citizens can perform basic military service or can refuse to do so for reasons of conscience, belief, or religion. In such case they have the duty to perform compensatory service ouside the armed forces, particularly in the area of social services. Forbidden is any movement or activity by individuals or groups which would call for taking power by force, removal of democratic institutions, for terrorism, fascism, nazism, national or racial intolerance, and would be contrary to the democratic and humanitarian principles of the state.

VI.

The fundamental principles of relations among people, in education and culture are: democracy, humanism, love of truth, love of country.

VII.

Property is inviolable. All forms of ownership are equal and enjoy equal protection. Expropriation is possible only for compensation.

Included in the exclusive ownership of the state are ore and other mineral wealth inside the earth, natural power resources, means of railroad and air travel, postal service and telecommunications. The highest legislative body of the republic can determine which other properties, necessary for ensuring the needs of the entire nation, economic growth, and public good will belong to the state.

The state supports all forms of ownership which contribute to the general good and well-being of the country and to the growth of entrepreneurship and prosperity.

Intervention by the state in economic activities is limited by the constitution to urgent cases only, on the basis of law, and for the following reasons: preservation of life and health, preservation and protection of a healthy environment, securing supplies of food and goods for the people, ensuring the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, ensuring the ability of the country to defend itself.

VIII.

The constitution provides every protection of civic rights and liberties including the universally exercisable right to protection against all decisions by the state power and administration by way of an independent judiciary.

IX.

All power of the state derives from the people and belongs only to the people. The people exercise that power through free, direct, and secret elections, or through public referendum. Everyone can, in accord with the constitution and the laws, share in the exercise of state power or the administration directly or through their elected representatives. The activities of all state agencies are subject to people's control.

X.

Communities and towns are self-governing and citizens decide, within the bounds of the constitution and the laws, on local matters directly by themselves or through their freely elected and recallable representatives.

XI.

We trust that the full text of the draft constitution presented by us will be published and made available with all speed by the state agencies to all who are interested in fulfilling the principles of democracy and humanism.

Commentary

At issue are postulates which we accept and consider to be correct. According to our opinion, however, some of them should be clarified and supplemented.

In principle No I, which characterizes our republic, it should be stated what kind of social order is at issue, whether a socialist one, which we endorse, or other.

In principle No II, the characterization of our republic should be amplified as far as the national states are concerned, whether at issue is a federation, confederation, or some other form. We think that it should remain a federation.

In principle No III, citizens' social rights should be emphasized, as, for example, the right to work, because they are the source which assures the livelihood of the working people and are the basis of a realistic exercising of political and cultural rights as well as of a citizen's personal freedoms.

As to the formulation of citizens' basic obligations, it should be made clear in the principles expressed in section V what provision will be made for preparing citizens to meet the requirement that every citizen has the duty to defend the country against an attack by foreign military power, since a new concept of basic military service is proposed. A prerequisite for carrying out the duty to defend the country is the adequate training of every citizen.

It is clear, however, from principle No VII what kinds and forms of ownership the constitution envisages. In the principles should be expressed also the relationship to cooperative ownership, relationship to the soil and to personal ownership and to ownership ***** TEXT MISSING ***** work activity. Exclusive state ownership should include also basic forestry stock, key industrial and construction enterprises, important health, educational, cultural and scientific facilities, radio, television and film. The formulation of the highest legislative body of the republic does not make it clear whether it is an agency of the federation or of the republics. In our view, the principles should also make clear what means the state will use to carry out economic and social policies, or if it will have the possibility to influence economic and social developments by means of a socio-economic plan and financial instruments.

From the content of the ideas in section IX it is not clear what state agencies will be created through democratically understood elections. In our opinion it should be the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, the Slovak National Council, and the national committees. We propose that secret elections should be reformulated as elections with secret ballot.

According to principle No X, communities and towns will be self-governing, but it is not indicated what agency will represent this self-government. In our opinion it should be the national committees and direct forms of implementing democracy. The autonomous status of communities and towns must be supported by a distribution system if we are to talk about a real self-government. In connection with the self-governing status it must be made clear what will be the relationship of the self-government to the state government and the central agencies.

The proposed principles should also speak to other important questions, such as, especially, the formulation and control of policies under a pluralistic political system, the problem of the status of the National Front, the problem of the establishment and activities of federal, republic, and local agencies of state power and administration, the problem of ensuring the protection of constitutionality, legality, the protection of citizens' legal rights, etc.

Thousands Demonstrate Against Reunification

LD1912194289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several thousand Berliners demonstrated in the center of the GDR capital this evening against reunification and a sell-out of their country. On banners and in chants they expressed their determination to work hard for renewal in the country and against xenophobia, rising nationalism, and neo-Nazism.

The procession moved from Alexanderplatz to the Platz der Akademie, where representatives of several parties and movements spoke, including those of New Forum Berlin, Democracy Now, and the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism].

Underground Station to West Berlin To Open

LD1912183889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Rosenthaler Platz Underground station in Berlin-Mitte [the East Berlin borough of Berlin-Center] will be opened as a new border crossing point to Berlin (West) at 1300 on Friday, announced the magistrat [city government] of Berlin. This will bring the total number of crossing points to 23.

GDR Citizens Ask Kohl for War Compensation

AU2012093389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Dec 89 p 1

[ND report: "The GDR Can Claim Compensation for Follow-Up Burdens of the War"]

[Text] East Berlin—In an open letter to the FRG chancellor, GDR citizens expressed the hope that Helmut Kohl will advocate compensation for the GDR, as was recently advocated by scientists and politicians of the Christian Democratic Union in the FRG.

"By overcoming corrupt, objectionable, and criminal things and complicated social problems, we are striving for a basically renewed society. Our country, the GDR, is following its own path in this. It includes beneficial coexistence with the FRG," the open letter to the FRG chancellor says. "Remembering your often voiced reference to the common past of the Germans and the concern for the welfare of the people on this side of the border, we expect you to advocate a 'compensation for burdens as a result of the unequal follow-up burdens of the war,' which the GDR can claim legally and morally, which is not linked with any conditions, and which is also advocated by your party colleage Biedenkopf." The signatories state that they expect a public answer before Helmut Kohl's visit to the GDR.

The letter, which was handed to various media, bears the signature of 29 citizens with the most different professions.

New Forum Seeks Condemnation of Romania

LD0712145389 East Berin ADN International Service in German 1245 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a statement, New Forum Berlin has demanded the clear distancing of the GDR Government from the Romanian leadership and the rescinding of all medals presented by the GDR to Ceausescu.

It says further: "We demand that the GDR Government do everything in its power so that fundamental human rights may be restored in Romania. We demand that immediate initiation of an aid program by all social forces of the GDR. The incoming aid goods should be distributed under the supervision of the International Red Cross."

The statement carries the signatures of Baerbel Bohley, Ingrid Koeppe, Reinhard Schult, and Klaus Wolfram.

Romania Suspends Tourist Traffic

LD1912124289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to official announcements from the Romanian travel agency "Carpati" to the GDR travel agency and to the "Jugendtourist" youth travel agency, organized tourism to Romania was temporarily suspended today, Tuesday. ADN learned this today after asking the two GDR travel agencies.

By Tuesday afternoon, there had been no official confirmation from the Romanian side to the relevant department of the GDR Foreign Ministry that entries by private persons to Romania are not possible.

Modrow, USSR's Snetkov View GDR Developments

LD1812152789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1431 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans Modrow, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, and the commander in chief of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces, Army General Boris Snetkov, met in Berlin on Monday. They exchanged views on the current political developments in the GDR. The meeting was attended by GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann. The Council of Ministers briefed Gen Snetkov on the activities of his government and on steps for the implementation of the government declaration of 17 November, a statement issued to ADN reveals. They were aimed at ensuring the stability of the GDR as a contribution to European security.

On behalf of the members of the Western Group of the Soviet forces, Army Gen Snetkov passed on best wishes for a successful realization of the policy of renewal in the GDR. He assured the Council of Ministers chairman that the soldiers of the Western Group would make every effort to honorably fulfill their peacekeeping mission and to further strengthen the trusting relationship with the people of the GDR. Hans Modrow thanked the commander in chief for this, as well as for the help of the members of the Soviet army in the GDR economy.

Fischer Meets Soviet-German Representative

AU1912060389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Talk With Soviet German Representative"]

[Text] In a talk Wednesday [13 December] with the co-chairman of the presidium of the coordination center of the Soviet-German union society, "Rebirth," Hugo Wormsbecher, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said that it was a concern of the GDR to expand contacts with ethnic German-Soviet citizens and their union society. He said that concrete ideas were currently being worked out. On the same day, it was agreed with the German-Soviet Friendship Society to train officials of the "Rebirth" organization in the German language, and to exchange the periodicals FREIE WELT [FREE WORLD] and NEUES LEBEN [NEW LIFE].

Surplus in Trade With Soviet Union Noted

AU1512163089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 89 p 2

[ND report: "GDR Surplus in Trade With Soviet Union"]

[Text] East Berlin—Our republic's foreign trade with the Soviet Union is characterized by a slight upward tendency and a surplus for the GDR. This was announced by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Eduard Schwierz in a talk with journalists on economic relations between the GDR and USSR.

The USSR is a reliable economic partner for us, the deputy minister pointed out, referring to the protocol on the exchange for 1990 that has already been concluded. In 1990 the Soviet Union will procure 18.6 percent of its total requirement in the sphere machinery and equipment, 29.4 percent in the field of ships, 26.9 percent of all rail vehicles, and 55 percent of its requirement of refrigerating plants and air conditioning equipment in the GDR.

Apart from large volumes of mineral oil, natural gas, and other raw materials, the GDR will again import machinery and equipment, trucks, tractors, aircraft, as well as miniature cameras, portable black-and-white television, and refrigerators.

Both sides found it impossible to comply with all wishes of the partner. Thus, the Soviet demand for jet molding machines, plastics, passenger coaches, knitting machines, and hermetic compressors for refrigeration equipment and cables cannot be satisfied by our production capacities.

Minister Schwierz stressed that foreign trade officials will have to devise new methods concerning their activities in the Soviet Union. As the responsibility of the individual combines and enterprises increases, they also become responsible for organizing their trade activities. On the GDR side, this will require greater efforts in the markets. For this reason, GDR trade representations will be established in Leningrad, Kiev, and Minsk as an initial step.

Appeal Stresses Solidarity With Poland

AU2012092389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Dec 89 p 2

["Appeal published by renowned GDR figures," in Berlin on 15 December: "For Firm Solidarity With the Polish People"]

[Text] Revolutionary changes characterize our country now, changes that give rise to hopes and release energies everywhere. However, we are also concerned about the fact that disquieting and alarming things are occurring at the same time.

People mistrust citizens from other countries, and it is particularly Polish citizens who, amid the democratic popular movement, are confronted with a wave of intolerance, mistrust, reservations, and signs of open xenophobia.

Necessary economic measures to protect our national economy are apparently being misunderstood and are giving rise to a completely unjustified and undifferentiated wave of accusations and insults aimed at foreign visitors. Honest working people from other countries who contribute to our national economy with commitment, under conditions that are often difficult, have their honor insulted.

Emotions, which are to a considerable degree nourished by the insufficient way of coming to terms with our past, threaten to question the things that have been achieved during the new phase of peaceful coexistence of the peoples of the GDR and the Polish People's Republic, who have a common border along the Oder and Neisse. After the most terrible of all wars, during a period when the GDR was founded and was growing, German and Polish patriots, through the suffering they jointly went through, always aware of the indivisibility of European culture, even in difficult times, and with joint sorrow about the future, gave our peoples back their identity and, making use of a historic chance, joined our people in the hope for lasting peace and friendship.

Deeply concerned about our common future, which we can only conceive of as coexistence characterized by mutual respect, understanding, tolerance, and cooperation in a European home, we appeal to all citizens in our country to preserve the friendship that has grown in the difficult struggles. Let us not forget in everyday life that the respect for the dignity and the acceptance of the identity of citizens from other countries, which is deeply rooted in their history, are among the best humanistic traditions of our country.

Bulgarians Seek GDR Citizenship

AU1812124389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Dec 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Hope for GDR Citizenship"]

[Text] In the GDR an increasing number of citizens are warning against a further deepening of the already visible rifts in the coexistence and understanding with foreign fellow citizens. At demonstrations and other public forums, more solidarity with these people is demanded, and it is pointed out that the majority of this population group are partners of GDR citizens or foreigners who came to our republic with employment contracts of GDR firms. After they were granted the right to vote in municipal elections this year, some also assumed responsibility in the regions. Those with limited employment contracts keep their respective citizenship and return to their homelands after their stay in the GDR. Foreign citizens who came to the GDR as spouses of GDR citizens can apply for GDR citizenship.

We publish below a letter from several Bulgarian citizens living in the GDR. In it, they describe their hardships and difficulties that are directly related to the acquisition of GDR citizenship. This is the first time they have appeared before the public to draw attention to their concern. Under the headline "To the GDR Government" it is stated:

Proceeding from the present development of the renewal in the GDR, we ask to grant to us, Bulgarians living for 10, 20, and more years in the GDR, GDR citizenship—after a thorough examination of the applications by the Ministry of the Interior—without the lengthy, difficult, and depressing proceedings to release us from Bulgarian citizenship. These proceedings have devastating consequences for our life.

1. Consequences for the individual

—Until the seventies we were requested to pay 10 percent of our monthly gross income to the trade representation of the Bulgarian Embassy, the "Technoexport" trade enterprise. We ask for what we had to pay!

—Bulgarians living in capitalist countries have dual citizenship and need not be released from Bulgarian citizenship. In addition, they need not pay 10 percent of their monthly gross income to the embassy.

—We are forced to pay a certain amount to the embassy in order to prolong our stay in the GDR. Is it not degrading that we have to pay for our stay in the GDR?

—We were forced to conclude contracts, although we did not come to the GDR because of an employment contract, but because of our marriage.

2. Consequences for mixed German-Bulgarian families:

—Because of continuous threats by the Bulgarian Embassy that the German People's Police authorities would deport us if we did not comply with the embassy's requests and because of financial burdens, such a heavy strain was put on our families that it resulted in many divorces.

3. Consequences for work discipline in the enterprises:

—As the Bulgarian Embassy requests us to personally come there when prolonging our stay in the GDR and when other matters are concerned, this results in nonproductive hours in the enterprises in which we work and, thus, in a lack of understanding on the part of the workers collectives and the enterprise managements. In addition, we incur considerable expenses because not every one of us has his residence in Berlin.

Commentary Favors Abolishing COCOM

AU2012104889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 89 p 4

[Klaus Wilczynski commentary: "Not Examination, but Abolishment"]

[Text] Nowadays the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM] is the subject of many discussions. Even though it must not be mistaken for the infamous Ko-Ko [Commercial Coordination] of the "missing" Mr Schalck because of the similarity in names, these two resemble each other in one aspect: both of them are causing losses to the economy.

COCOM, founded at the insistence of the United States in November 1949, is a product of the cold war. The name is the English abbreviation for Coordination Committee for East-West Trade Policy. The Paris-based organization is more an institute for preventing trade. COCOM lists include, above all, high-technology products that must not be exported to socialist countries.

The export ban is justified by security and military-strategic interests. However, in polite terms, this is interpreted in a very liberal way, as even today it lists products that are part of the very normal international division of labor. It has always been the aim of COCOM to hinder scientific-technological progress in the socialist countries as much as possible.

In the meantime, even the patrons of the COCOM lists have come to realize how untenable the stipulations on banning and the rite of exempting individual products have become in view of the changed situation in the world. Therefore, the United States wants a comprehensive examination of the stipulations, according to a statement by Secretary of Trade Mosbacher in Warsaw. At its meeting in Paris the Parliamentarian Assembly of the West European Union demanded something along these lines, too.

This is progress, but today's maxim should not be examination, but abolishment. In a time of joint ventures and industrial cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries, the entire COCOM organization is totally absurd. Without the international division of labor there will not be any scientific-technological progress anywhere today.

Modrow Discusses East-West Trade

OW0712061789 Tokyo KYODO in English 0548 GMT 7 Dec 89

[By Susanne Ganz and Masaru Imai]

[Text] Berlin, Dec. 7 KYODO—East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow indicated Wednesday the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea once the political crisis in East Germany has calmed down.

"At the moment, this question is not on the agenda. This is not because of hesitation on our side but because we can't turn our attention to foreign ties because of domestic problems," Modrow said regarding the prospect of official relations with Seoul.

Modrow, in an interview with KYODO News Service President Shinji Sakai, also said East Germany is interested in introducing the latest Japanese technology to modernize the country's economy.

He said he favors free trade between East European countries and the West, and called on the West to scrap controls on technology exports to the Eastern bloc to facilitate a free flow of technology in the world.

Modrow said he is interested in paying a visit to Japan, noting that former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone visited East Germany in 1987.

Commenting on U.S. President George Bush's suggestion of holding the Olympic Games in both parts of the divided city of Berlin in 2004, Modrow said it was not possible for him to come up with a definite decision on that.

Leipzig, the second largest city in East Germany, has already indicated it wants to sponsor the 2004 Olympics, he said. "I can't say 'yes' to the second candidate before the first candidate is turned down," he said.

In regard to the German reunification issue, Modrow said his concept of a "treaty community" between the two German states was fully supported by the Soviet Union.

Modrow met Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow shortly after the U.S.-Soviet summit in Malta.

Modrow put forward his idea of an East and West German treaty community—in his inaugural speech as prime minister on November 17—as a platform for further negotiations on cooperation between the two German states. In that speech, he rejected talk of reunification as "dangerous and unrealistic."

He said the Soviet Union also supported part of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's program on the German issue.

Kohl, in reply to Modrow's concept of a treaty community, called for agreements and treaties at various levels and between various institutions.

Toeplitz Says Mittag May Face Treason Charges

LD1912190389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Toeplitz (Christian Democratic Union), the chairman of the People's Chamber committee investigating the misuse of office and corruption, says it is possible that Mittag, former Socialist Unity Party of Germany economics secretary, will face charges of high treason. Toeplitz added that Martini, former secretary of state in the Construction Ministry, has been arrested.

Ex-minister Erich Honecker has again been invited to tomorrow's session of the committee.

Ex-CDU Chairman Goetting Violated Regulations

AU2012091689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Goetting Committed Financial Offenses Amounting to M1.2 Million"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The interim report of the investigation committee for the examination of the financial matters of former Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] Chairman Gerald Goetting notes considerable violations of criminal regulations on Goetting's part. Committee Chairman Siegfried Schulze announced that a record of these violations "comprises about M1.2 million—M650,000 of which is an annual 'compensation' by the party to Gerald Goetting, including M50,000 each year for loss of income as People's Chamber president. Gerald Goetting ordered this payment to himself by noting that this had been set down by Erich Honecker."

In addition, four employees were working exclusively for Goetting's family in Berlin and in Ahrenhoop. Lothar de Maiziere announced that part of the CDU budget was covered by the state budget. The sums requested were paid via "a certain department of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany." Until a few years ago, the money was even "picked up in suitcases" in violation of all valid financing regulations, De Maiziere said.

Army Members Protest Slowness of Reforms

LD1712193889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Sassnitz (ADN)—Blue uniforms of the People's Navy and the Coastal Frontier Brigade dominated the picture in Sassnitz of the demonstration Sunday at which Army members protested against the slow reforms in the armed organs. On the initiative of the "Nordspitze" action group, an association of professional officers stationed on Ruegen, the demonstrators formulated their demands and proposals for creating a true army of the people. In an open letter to the Council of Ministers and the chief of the People's Navy, they call inter alia for a new, open performance principle in the Army, a new oath of allegiance and officers pledge to the Constitution instead of the party, as well as a stronger presence in the media. The military members expect from the Sassnitz mayor and other local representative bodies an invitation to the roundtable. Opportunities should be provided in all military units so that civilians could see for themselves what the working, living, and service conditions of the Army members are like. Accordingly, the most northern radio technology company of the National People's Army in Putgarten opened its doors already on Sunday to visitors for the first time. Major Ingold Hennings conducted a tour through the command posts of his unit and spoke about the tasks of air traffic control, radiolocation, and reports on flying objects.

New Forum Member To Assume Government Post

LD1512210289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1925 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Volker Abend, a pedagogue and lecturer at Berlin's Engineering College, is to be appointed deputy minister of education, the first representative of New Forum to assume government responsibility. He told journalists that the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]proposed him for the post.

Abend, a Catholic, belongs to none of the established parties in the GDR. He has been a teacher for 20 years and has been a physics and mathematics teacher at the Catholic Theresien College in Berlin. He is attending the CDU congress as a guest.

Amnesty Resolution Comes Under Fire

AU2012120289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 11 Dec 89 p 2

[Axel Knack commentary: "Amnesty, Yes—but for Whom?"]

[Text] Just like many other things in these wild days, now the State Council's amnesty resolution is on the table. Its pros and cons are the subject of public discussions. First of all, the amnesty resolution, probably particularly as a result of the pressure from the prisons, seems to have been written with a hot pen.

Such a resolution, though it was indeed necessary, requires time for preparation. The main thing is not just the release of former convicts, but the first and most important prerequisite for that: the creation of possibilities for resocialization. That means jobs and apartments.

Yes, we urgently need this amnesty. In quite a few cases we even need them very urgently. Just think of the criminalized political cases. In these cases we need this amnesty today rather than tomorrow. Just think of the "small fry" that was imprisoned as a recidivist for a petty cause, just because of his record of previous convictions.

Regarding other cases, there should be more time for consideration, also in the interest of resocialization. The hundreds of thousands of citizens certainly did not protest publicly for a general amnesty to include criminals, as demanded in some prisons. It is correct that the amnesty resolution of the State Council stops at that because everything else would have had to be considered more thoroughly with other participants, that is, with those concerned themselves—the criminals, lawyers, and the local state organs.

Therefore, we need a speedy amnesty for criminalized so-called political offenses and also a speedy amnesty for the so-called poor souls. In other cases we need a careful examination. Regarding "thugs," one should not yield, irrespective of how great the demands are.

Institute for Environmental Matters Founded

AU2012090689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Founding of an Institute for Environmental Matters"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—An initiative group of GDR scientists has founded an Independent Institute for Environmental Matters in the GDR.

The materially and ideologically independent institute, which is to be financed by donations and its own income, will establish laboratories and will earn finances through data services, environmental reports, and by testing the scientific instruments and methods of domestic and foreign companies that are linked with measurements that are relevant to the environment. [passage omitted]

Nuclear Waste Disposal Site Opened to Media

AU2012092989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Radioactive Waste Securely Stored Near Morsleben"]

[Text] Haldensleben (ADN/ND)—The area of the final storage site for radioactive waste in Morsleben, Magdeburg Bezirk [area], has lost its status as "terra incognita" for the public. Journalists were able to convince themselves of the secure storage of waste products with low- and medium-level radioactivity in the former salt mine near the border. Most of the waste comes from the "Bruno Leuschner" Nuclear Power Plants Combine and comprises solid and liquid substances, such as cleaning water, air filters, used instruments from inside the reactor, and protective clothing. About 20 percent of the deliveries are radionuclides from medicine and research. Radioactive waste from abroad is not stored in Morsleben.

"We assume that this radioactive waste will lose its radioactivity in a maximum of 1,000 years," enterprise director Klaus Ebel explained. He reported that the salt mine has been used as a final storage site since 1978, and that as a deep storage site it even exceeds the international safety recommendations.

Hartmut Schulze, who is responsible for radiation protection, stated that the radioactive pollution is far below the given thresholds. The environment and the population are not in danger.

Highly radioactive waste, such as nuclear fuel, is not stored in Morsleben. After several years of being intermediately stored in the nuclear power plants, this fuel is sent back to the Soviet Union. The interlocutors stressed that there are no files of the former State Security Service in the salt mines, as rumors have had it.

'German Rainbow' Youth Organization Founded

AU2012103889 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 12 Dec 89 p 2

[NZ report: "Statement by 'German Rainbow' Youth Organization"]

[Text] Berlin (NZ)—At a meeting of young people, among them many members of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] and of initiative groups, to establish a youth organization close to the NDPD, the "German Rainbow" youth organization was founded in Berlin on the weekend [9-10 December]. Representatives of the organization participated in the roundtable talks of the Free German Youth. The youth organization asked the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG to publish the following statement:

The "German Rainbow" sees itself as an alternative to the existing youth organizations in the GDR. It is open for all humanist confessions and denominations.

We accept everything that serves the German nation and the Sorbian ethnic group.

We continue all humanist visions of the German people and fight against the isolation of a nation and the overestimation of its own capacities.

We oppose all forms of party quarrels and political triviality.

We advocate keen sensibility to the environment in our homeland.

We are in favor of securing peace by reducing arms, hostile images, and prejudices.

Therefore, we support an alliance between the two German states in a common European home.

We are for international understanding that is also determined by youth exchange and personal contacts.

We are for an open intellectual-cultural life in all fields of life, without any tutelage.

We also approach all those who are pushed to the margins by society.

We support the establishment of an independent children's movement all over the republic, in which all children can be happy and the contents of which are determined by the children themselves.

The members of the working committee are:

Joerg Westphal, A.-Schrapel-Strasse 7, Dresden, 8019;

Torsten Wolf, Stollberger Str. 7, Leipzig, 7042;

Thomas Schmidt, Karl-Marx-Str. 5, Gruenhainichen, 9392;

Romy Beck, Friedrich-Wolf-Str. 3, Suhl, 6018;

Andrea Schindler, Fiete-Schulze-Str. 21, Rostock, 2500;

Inge Marquordt-Schulze, Alte Dorfstrasse 42, Luebstorf, 2711;

Axel Tiefmann, Strelitzer Str. 41, Neutstrelitz 2080;

Grit Schaefer, Naumburger Str. 1, Merseburg, 4200;

Bernd Berthold, Th.-Muentzer-Str. 116, Polleben, 4251;

Bernd Schmutzler, Karl-Maron-Str. 14, 0303, Berlin, 1140;

Andreas Penk, Zingster Str. 43, Berlin, 1093;

Andreas Roesler, c/o Schneider, Michaelkirchstr. 6, Berlin, 1020;

Annett Boeddrich, Fr.-Kuhlisney-Str. 45, Falkensee, 1540.

National Security Office Delegates on Renewal

AU1912225789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Security Organs in the Service of the People"]

[Text] The delegates from the Office of National Security to the party congress elected from their midst a working committee to manage, instead of the kreis [district] leadership, the political work of the party organization in the office. The party delegates made the following statement entitled, "For a Basic Renewal of the Security Organs in the Service of the People and on Behalf of the Government":

We will constructively cooperate with the working committee to prepare the special party congress. As party members in the Office for National Security, we resolutely advocate the settlement of past mistakes. We regard this as the prerequisite for the basic renewal of our party organization and the office.

Not only did the people and the party basis reject a socialism of Stalinist character, but they also rejected the so-called policy of total security based on it.

The former Ministry for State Security was increasingly entrusted with tasks to which it was not entitled. Trying to solve political problems with penal and administrative means was wrong. The former party and state leadership, together with the former minister for state security, are to blame for the present distrust and the understandable rage of the people of our country.

We agree with the resignation of the collegium and the further changes in the cadres. We regard this as guarantees for a sincere new beginning.

Not the concealment and the half-hearted admission of mistakes under public pressure, but their unconditional clarification without regard for who is involved are still urgently necessary. We unreservedly want to expose the abuse of authority and corruption. The existence of a security organ is only justified if it serves the people's interests and thus enjoys their confidence.

In a situation that is dramatic for our country, we stand up for our duty to protect peace, the GDR's sovereignty, its renewed socialist development, and the citizens' rights. Together with the patriots, scouts, and all forces of the people that support us, we regard this as our contribution to the revolutionary renewal of socialism. True to our state's antifascist and humanist traditions, we will oppose any form of neofascism and any attack on the constitutional order with determination.

The Constitution, the guidelines of the People's Chamber, the government statement, the resolutions of the Council of Ministers, socialist law and its observation are our guidelines and the basis of our actions. We are of the opinion that the security partnership, humanism, and the stability of the law are valid for all, including our colleagues, their families, and the citizens who support the work of our office. We regard the openness of our work, with the limits that correspond to its conspiratory character and democratic control, as a basic requirement of a socialist law-governed state. This also means that membership in a party cannot be the precondition for membership in the Office for State Security.

We face up to the controlling organs authorized by the People's Chamber. We advocate a considerate security partnership that excludes the occupation of the facilities of the Office for National Security, as this contradicts the rule of law.

We, the party delegates with our party's mandate, work for the renewal of our party to become a modern socialist party of the people. We advocate the party members' comprehensive democratic participation in the development, implementation, and control of all decisions to be taken.

Dissolution of National Security Office Viewed

AU2012093989 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 16-17 Dec 89 p 2

[Harald Schulzendorf commentary: "Dissolution—and Then What?"]

[Text] The life of the National Security Office was only short. After 1 month, the end of this institution has been practically decided—by the same government that established it a few weeks ago.

Again a victory by the people in the streets? That too. After all, the new office was under the dark shadow, which could not be overlooked, of its unholy predecessor, and the mistrust that had grown over decades could not dissolve into delight overnight. The hesitancy in dealing with its own past, which was shrouded in secrecy, the attempted and actual destruction of files, and the more or less half-hearted way in which the leaders of the office pursued a break with outdated things made the new institution suspicious again.

Now it will be abolished. But at least three problems remain. First, many things still have to be cleared up. Because how did power structures develop that turned security for the people into insecurity? How could this apparatus avoid any public control, and how can this be prevented in the future? These are questions that can be solved only if the documents in the sealed safes are not forgotten.

A second thing must not be overlooked. Even the most liberal democracy has rules and limits, the observation of which must be ensured. In short: The state needs means of power to painfully rap the knuckles of neo-Nazi and ultrarightist forces in our country, which are inimical to the Constitution. Those who overlook this in the euphoria of freedom, equality, and liberty, and perhaps next doubt the reason for the existence of the police and Army, are completely mistaken. However, no one will be so naive as to think that our country is the only one in the world that can do without intelligence service reconnaissance abroad. It is undisputed that this kind of state work must naturally be under far-reaching democratic control, for instance by Parliament.

And a third thing: Violence against former employees and property of the office, which has been closed, is detrimental to the peaceful renewal in our country. Here, too, legality and human dignity must be the supreme principle. Recent disconcerting reports about cases of mistreatment and lynch justice must not recur. The appeal not to add new injustice to past injustice must be heard and obeyed.

People's Police on Ensuring Law, Legality

AU2012093689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "People's Police: Ensuring Law and Legality"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In the current situation, the members of the German People's Police see their most noble duty in ensuring law and legality with all their strength for the benefit of our country and our citizens. Together with all social forces and with all citizens, the members of the People's Police want to ensure public order and security and, in close partnership, they want to work for peaceful and nonviolent demonstrations and rallies. They consider it their task to protect all citizens from violence and lynch justice, and from potential attacks on their persons and their personal property. There is no room for violent actions in our country. Every threatened citizen should immediately come to the German People's Police. The consistent investigation and unveiling of corruption and abuse of power also entails protecting honest citizens from slander.

Eppelmann's Call for Modrow Resignation Viewed

AU1912132989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 89 p 2

[Uwe Stemmler editorial: "What Is The Use Of Threatening Gestures"]

[Text] We heard an amazing statement of Reverend Eppelmann [Democratic Awakening—Demokratischer Aufbruch] yesterday [13 December]. He stated his political Christmas wish on television—the resignation of the Modrow government. Some quarters of the New Forum have also zeroed in on the government, with some of them even toying with the idea of strikes if the roundtable talks were to fail. By the way, it could fail owing to anybody who is not ready for consensus. Why the threatening gestures? Will the election campaign be held in this way?

In these troubled times, many people in the GDR—opinion polls show that it is the large majority of the people—stake their hopes on Modrow, the chief of government, and his coalition team. In fact, it is his 5-party Cabinet that stands up for the recovery of the country and has started implementing this program energetically.

Of course, some unusual aspects surprise us in this respect, in particular, in connection with respecting the market and international division of labor. However the declared goals of the coalition government are more democracy and an efficient economy serving the satisfaction of the working people's real social security needs. In simple words, everybody should feel at home here, without constantly envying the neighbor in the west.

It will not be possible to cover the road to this goal until Christmas, or settle it by means of a wish list. It requires a purposeful and conscientious approach and a good working atmosphere in the country. Unrest and panic are harmful.

I respect some new movements or parties that have become known in the revolutionary autumn days, among other things, because they called for nonviolence, quiet, and calmness. How right the slogans in the street were, which have also been advocated by these movements, is shown by the fact that most of them are already being implemented or have been included in a clear time schedule.

So why should this government that was elected and given a mission by the People's Chamber now be overthrown? Is it just big-mouthed language prior to the free elections that have been announced? Or is it concern about the own image, because the coalition is doing what is in the country's interest?

Evangelical Church Leadership Appeals for Calm

AU1512153989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "Do Not Hate and Entertain Thoughts of Revenge, Despite Rage"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—The Conference of the Evangelical Church Leaderships in the GDR met for a special session in Berlin on Friday [8 December]. It addressed the citizens and the Christians of the country with a statement, in which it asked:

"What is to happen prior to free elections? In any event, the vital order in our country must not collapse. The country must remain governable. Supplies must function. The economy must not be weakened any more. Our economy must not be endangered any further; after all, the value of our work backs our money. Medical and social aid must be ensured for all. Peace in society must be strengthened. For this, everyone bears responsibility in his sphere of life by means of his work and his political dedication."

Furthermore, the statement notes that only prudence and common sense will help us, and not wishful thinking but only responsible work. The peaceful revolution must not be endangered. Then, the statement refers to the roundtable talk. It has an important task. It wants to bring together the political forces of our society so as to accept common responsibility for the necessary steps and prepare what the people themselves have to decide in free elections and referendums.

In addition, the statement says: "We must not hate and engage in thoughts of revenge, despite our rage about the violence, lies, and embezzlement that have been discovered. Respect for human dignity is indivisible. Even the culprits participate in it. No one, including ourselves, can wash their hands in innocence. We, as the Evangelical Church, say this about ourselves. Years ago, when many people still kept quiet, we spoke up in public. But we, too, often kept quiet when we should have spoken up. The consistent search for the main culprits in our society and their public condemnation do not remove the blame. They must not blind our eyes to a sober look at the present. Only the spirit of reconciliation makes us free to solve the tasks of the present courageously and to seize the opportunities of the future. "We have felt the spirit of reconciliation over the past weeks. Let us cling to it and consolidate nonviolence and peacefulness."

House Arrest, 'Lynch Justice' Denounced

AU1512154389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 9 Dec 89 p 1

[Dietrich Schulz commentary: "Interjection"]

[Text] House arrest and lynch justice—these words should arouse the legal awareness of the population. As a lawyer by training, who also knows the international legal norms on human rights, I am forced to make this interjection. On the fringe of a news conference in the building of the public prosecutor's office, media representatives heard about death threats, house occupation, and other forms of lynch justice for accused former top functionaries, but also of death threats against public prosecutors who are allegedly not acting rigorously enough against suspected criminals. Hence, the justified intention to keep secret the prison hospital in which Albrecht, Mittag, and Tisch are being treated. Violence against persons and things has to be energetically countered by means that are acceptable in a constitutional state. Where such legal norms are missing, they would be immediately adopted by the legitimate bodies. This applies, in particular, also to house arrest, that is not regulated by any law in the GDR. The use of customary law to restrict individual rights should be strictly rejected.

Peasants Mutual Aid Association Calls Conference

AU1512161189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Peasants Mutual Aid Association Calls Peasants Conference for March 1990"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Peasants Mutual Aid Association (VdgB) has advocated the convocation of a peasants conference in March 1990. On Thursday [7 December] at the third session of the Central Executive Committee of the peasants organization in Berlin, the congress was said to be urgently necessary to define the new tasks of the VdgB and its new position in view of the rapid changes in the society.

The VdgB press spokesman reported that, on behalf of its 650,000 members, the Central Executive Committee had strongly protested against the publication of the NEUE DEUTSCHE BAUERNZEITUNG as an independent weekly. The VdgB wants to have it returned.

Border Troop Official Notes Future Tasks

AU0512142889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Interview with Colonel General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten by Rainer Funke and Juergen Eberhardt; date and place not given—"Do We Still Need Border Troops?"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is receiving numerous calls and letters from citizens expressing respect for our Border Troops, for their hard work during the past few weeks.

Baumgarten: We are glad to hear that, particularly on the day of the Border Troops. We have been trying to shorten the traveling times and distances and to ensure swift clearance at the border. As is known, to make this possible, 42 new crossings were opened along the border with the FRG and 8 with Berlin (West). Now we have a total of 96 crossing points. This involved complicated, time-consuming, and unusual tasks that had to be solved and continue to be solved within the shortest possible period and by using all one's strength.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Will every town along the border get its own crossing point?

Baumgarten: One must be realistic. If you look at the border with the FRG, we have a crossing point every 20 km, sometimes even every 5 km. The expenditure both in terms of construction and personnel could not be justified.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Many readers ask questions concerning the new stipulations on the border region. What can you tell us?

Baumgarten: Let me sum up: The border region along the border with the GDR was about 5 km wide, now it has been reduced to 500 meters. A total of 458 villages and 200 enterprises with over 50 employees have been excluded from the border region. All restrictions have been abolished for the 200,000 inhabitants of the border region, including permit procedures and residence permits. Tedious visits of authorities that are time-consuming and often annoying are no longer necessary. Details of what continues to be required will be clarified shortly, in an unbureaucratic manner through mutual coordination.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: In your experience, do we still need the Border Troops?

Baumgarten: Lasting peace is only possible on the basis of borders that are accepted and protected—particularly in Europe where states with different social systems, which belong to different alliances, exist side by side, and where the strongest military pacts are facing each other. Therefore, the state border will continue to exist under these conditions as will soldiers to protect this border.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What about the fortifications that are being dismantled now?

Baumgarten: This is only the case near border crossings where our soldiers are deployed anyway. However, no state can completely renounce sufficient protection and monitoring of its borders. Illegal crossings, speculation and smuggling, particularly organized smuggling, must be prevented, and provocations and attacks by forces that want to incorporate our country must be ruled out. For this reason, we still need fortifications and signalling devices in certain areas, including forests and mountainous regions. The more peaceful the border is, the fewer fortifications we need. The other side also bears responsibility for this by preventing provocations such as the one in Wahlhausen.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Do you share the view of quite a large number of our readers that rioting and violent attacks on the other side obstruct the process of renewal?

Baumgarten: These attacks are indeed aimed at disturbing peace and order, at bringing about anarchy and finally eliminating the border. However, respect for the inviolability of borders continues to be the precondition for security and cooperation among the peoples in Europe, as stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What reforms are planned for the Border Troops?

Baumgarten: New structures are being introduced today after they have been extensively tested in some areas. What is needed is an adaptation to the regional structure. For this reason, bezirk [area] and kreis [district] commands have been established, and the structures of the leadership have been simplified. The units that used to be responsible for several hundred kilometers of the border with the FRG and that cooperated with several bezirks have been abolished. More responsibility and more independence have been transferred to the bezirks, kreises, companies, and sections of the border. This will make possible closer cooperation with the regional structures, the people's representative bodies, and the councils.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The structural changes were adopted by the National Defense Council in July, that means before the opening of the borders....

Baumgarten: You are right. However, they have also proved optimal under the new conditions. On this basis, we want to create conditions that allow the variety of the ideas of everybody, including soldiers, generals, and civilian employees, to be incorporated in the decisions of the leadership.

In addition, all regulations will be tested as to their usefulness, restrictions will be removed, and the extent of reporting and administrative work will be reduced. In short: In the future we want to fulfill our task with fewer personnel and financial means in the leading organs, but more efficiently.

Commentary Views Krenz Resignation

AU1312154589 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Thomas Leinkauf commentary: "Conclusions Drawn"]

[Text] Now Egon Krenz has also resigned as chairman of the State Council and of the National Defense Council. The chorus of those who called for this increased in volume in the past few days, their voices becoming increasingly audible. Krenz drew the conclusion from the obvious lack of confidence among large parts of the population. His work in Honecker's Politburo, for whose decisions he shared the responsibility for a long time, but, above all, his work as the chairman of the election commission this year in the spring incriminated him considerably. Hesitation in the process of renewing our society did not increase his credibility.

Radical innovation requires changes in personnel. Thus in order to reestablish the stability of the state, Krenz's resignation is the right step. It is uncertain who will be his successor. However, it is probably clear that there will no longer be a personal union of the chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the head of state. Manfred Gerlach is now acting as the State Council chairman. A new election should not be put off.

Greens Spokesman Discusses Party Goals

AU0812142989 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 4 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Vollrad Kuhn, one of the six elected spokesmen of the GDR Green Party, founded on 24 November in Berlin, by Rolf Bartonek; date and place not given—"What Do the Greens Want in the Party Scene"]

[Text] [Bartonek] You are spokesman only for a limited period?

[Kuhn] Yes, until 16 December. On this day our party will meet again in Halle.

[Bartonek] Environmental protection is increasingly becoming the focus of political activities in the GDR. There are many citizens' initiatives for this purpose. However, the established organizations and parties are also increasingly dedicating themselves to this decisive question. The Modrow government has presented a new environmental concept to the public, which declares war on the lagging behind of environmental policy. Why is a Green Party necessary now when all political forces want to dedicate themselves more intensively to environmental protection?

[Kuhn] It is correct that there is an increasing environmental movement in our country, which is supported by citizens' initiatives and also by the "old" parties. However, we think that society also needs a party that has ecology as the main goal of its entire program. We derive all other tasks from this main goal. In this connection, we are not striving for superficial popularity, because consistent ecological behavior poses demands on every individual. For instance, we are not in favor of focusing social development on material consumer interests as in the past. We want a new behavior at work, in consumption, and during leisure time. Preconditions have to be established for this.

[Bartonek] Which ones do you mean?

[Kuhn] For instance: Many people are now speaking of eliminating subsidies. We are for eliminating them where they promote waste of energy and raw materials. On the other hand, we want to absolutely preserve the low rates in commuter and long-distance traffic. Public transportation has to be considerably expanded—as an alternative to cars.

[Bartonek] What is your party's position on economic growth? The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], for instance, considers such growth indispensable for achieving social goals.

[Kuhn] We are in favor of replacing quantitative by qualitative growth. This means intensively expanded reproduction. In this respect, as in many things, we agree with the new concepts of the SED. Thus, the study on socialism by Humboldt University meets with our agreement. However, we do not know where the SED is going, whether it will perhaps split up and whether the reformist forces will gain ground.

[Bartonek] Which positions do the Greens in the GDR have on the market economy?

[Kuhn] The capitalist market economy must not gain the upper hand. We certainly see the advantages for environmental protection resulting from social ownership and planning, which, however, does not provide the details but only the framework. Market economy elements, yes, capitalist market economy, no. Market economy does not necessarily take ecology as an aspect of its orientation. In this connection, I see dangers emerging, because certain political groups in the GDR tend toward completely taking over the market economy.

[Bartonek] Are the Greens for socialism?

[Kuhn] I think, basically, yes. I am for socialism, but it would have to have its contents determined anew. Social ownership of producer goods should dominate, but it would have to be made more controllable by the citizens so that they can fully exercise their function as owners. This would directly include the necessary strengthening of the awareness of being an owner. For this, in turn, the enforcement of really performance-oriented wages and salaries is necessary, and also the employees having a share in any profits.

[Bartonek] How do you imagine the financing of environmental protection?

[Kuhn] Of course, the starting conditions are bad at the moment. We know that the problems cannot be solved from one day to the next. Of course, the money must be earned somehow. Now we have to draw up a balance sheet and, by balancing the cash, we must analyze what was done and what would be necessary. In particular we have to get away from remedial action after the event in environmental protection and switch to preventive measures. What is demanded is the consistent publication of the means that are given to the Ministry of National Defense and the National Security Office. Here, resources can certainly be deviated for environmental protection. We are for more determined disarmament steps.

[Bartonek] However, NATO is still adopting a rather passive attitude toward the advance moves in disarmament of the socialist countries. Is this also your view?

[Kuhn] More political pressure has to be applied in order to change this. All people should understand that at present the main danger to them is constituted by an imminent environmental disaster. In view of this, the conflict of systems must take a back seat and loses its meaning. We consider it urgently necessary to establish an international system of ecological security—and this includes peace and disarmament.

[Bartonek] When should the next elections take place in the GDR?

[Kuhn] In autumn 1990. By then we want to consolidate ourselves as a party, both concerning our organization and our program. It is not only on environmental protection that we have things to say; for instance, we are advocating with great dedication equal rights for men and women.

Judges Support Restructuring Process

LD0612191589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The judges of the GDR fully support the democratic process of restructuring that is taking place throughout the country, a statement by the GDR Supreme Court says. "We will put all our strength into ensuring that the rights of the citizens are maintained and all persons who are guilty are called to account in line with laws. The peaceful continuation of this process must not be disturbed by unlawful actions, prejudging and arbitrary law," the document adopted today at a meeting of the body adds. [passage omitted]

The erroneous security doctrine of the former party and state leadership, which was not in line with the situation in the country, led to laws "that had the result of criminalizing political conflicts and restricting rights of citizens. Associated with this there were interferences in the independence of the law, for example, through decisions by the Socialist Unity Party [SED] Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers. This had consequences for the conduct of the justice system by the

GDR Supreme Court. The area and district courts have reached their decisions on the basis of the laws and the central instructions given on this." [passage omitted]

SDP Spokesman Urges 'Nonviolent Revolution'

LD0712152289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1305 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The current situation in the GDR and the German question were the most important topics at an international news conference of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] on Thursday in Berlin. The party fears the beginning of violence in the GDR through the occupation of barracks and premises of the State Security, stated Markus Meckel, second spokesman of the party. The SDP calls for nonviolence for this reason. It is indeed its wish as well that these power bastions should fall, but this should continue to take place through a nonviolent revolution, he said. "We are also against a universal general strike, for which there have been several calls, because it would allow our economy to collapse even more." The SDP spokesman announced, however, calls for warning strikes if the demands of the party at the "roundtable" are not met.

The resignation of Egon Krenz as chairman of the State Council and of the National Council was greeted. It was expected, as a sign of transition and change until a new constitution, that the post of head of state will not be filled until popular elections. The People's Chamber, which has been constituted as the result of illegitimate elections, does not have the right to elect a new head of state, Markus Merkel said. In this connection, the SDP affirmed its proposal to have truly free and democratic elections on 6 May 1990. The spokesman said that the party is called upon to discuss up to the 1st Party Congress whether the SDP should then describe itself as the SPD in the GDR.

On the German question, party executive member Stefan Finger read out a statement from the SDP. In this the Social Democrats in the GDR declare their faith in the unity of the nation that should be shaped by both states. The chance is now opening up for this as, after 40 years of dictatorship, the citizens are gaining the possibility of self-determination. "We are involved in becoming equal partners in this shaping," it says in the statement. A rapid reunification in the sense of annexation to the FRG would endanger this however, said the SPD executive member. The GDR population, above all families with many children, single parents, pensioners, disabled people, and sick people, would then have unbearable social and political burdens placed on them. A large number would sink down into the lower social strata of the affluent society because of the present ineffective economy and infrastructure.

The shaping of German unity must take place in such a way that the erection of a European peace order is not endangered but promoted, it says further in the statement. The interests of European neighbors should not be trampled on. These latter should be sure of the recognition of their borders. Together with the Federal Republic, the GDR should approach the former victorious powers in order to negotiate a peace treaty that gives both sides full sovereignty. The SDP thinks that confederation will soon be a possible way of shaping the unity of the German nation. That does not need, however, a rapid annexation to the FRG, but the rapid institution of a democratically elected government in the GDR.

Nemeth Resigns From MSZP Presidium

LD2012075289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth has resigned his membership in the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium. This is what the morning program of Budapest Radio has been informed.

Explains Resignation

LD2012082789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] At the end of the Sunday session of the Council of Ministers, Miklos Nemeth read out a letter, which he had addressed to Rezso Nyers, Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Chairman. The premier noted with shock that while he was away the MSZP Presidium took the stand that it supported the government's budget submission only in its basic lines, and that it did not support the housing reform proposal whatsoever. Thus, the premier had ended up in an untenable situation, since if he had accepted the standpoint of the MSZP Presidium, he would have ended up opposing what was contained in the submission of the government he leads. In the letter Miklos Nemeth pointed out that the MSZP Presidium, keeping in view the party interest, prior to the elections, can say no to the housing management proposals, but owing to the country's future under no circumstances can government subordinate its steps to any party interest. Therefore, the premier cannot be the member of a party presidium that does not support the government in such an important matter.

For this reason, according to our information Nemeth has resigned his membership in the MSZP Presidium.

Officials, Others React to Repression in Romania

Oszi Criticizes West for Leniency

AU1912131589 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Karl Stipsicz report on interview with Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi in Budapest on 19 December]

[Text] Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi said that Hungary was directly affected by the events in Romania. If a chaotic situation were to develop, hundreds of thousands of people would flee across the border to Hungary and, subsequently, to Austria, and thus cause an insolvable problem for both countries.

The expert in Romanian politics within the Hungarian Foreign Ministry confirmed media reports of victims in Timisoara and said that the reports were in accordance with his information. However, Istvan Oszi did not want to mention any figures.

The whereabouts of Protestant priest Laszlo Tokes, whose attempted deportation was one of the events that triggered the demonstrations last weekend, are unknown. The Hungarians do not regard the mobilization of the Romanian Army, which was officially confirmed in Budapest, as directed against them, but as an expression of the most critical and unpredictable situation in Romania itself.

Istvan Oszi did not hold back his criticism of Western diplomacy. He said that public opinion and the official policy of the West have always considered Romania to be only a special case. The violation of human rights and the dictatorship of starvation cannot be eliminated with a few polite protest notes. At the same time, the Hungarian deputy foreign minister noted that his country, in particular, had hardly any opportunity to exert an influence in Romania. Romania regards any criticism as an attempt to interfere in its internal affairs. The 1.7 million ethnic Hungarians in Romania do not serve as a bridge between the nations, but as a reason for controversy, he said.

Oszi said that the Bucharest regime would certainly blame the bloody clashes of Timisoara on the Hungarians, even though eyewitnesses reported that only Romanian slogans were shouted in the demonstration. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman considers frank reports, protests, and boycotts to be the West's only opportunity to bring about a rapid end to the dictatorship of Ceausescu. The work of a European dictatorship that places itself outside any legal order and shoots at its own population must no longer be regarded as a matter of only secondary importance by other Europeans, Oszi concluded.

MSZP Severs Relations With RCP

LD2012183589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has severed relations with the Romanian Communist Party, Ivan Vitanyi, member of the party Presidium, told our correspondent Peter Marvanyi.

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] Ivan Vitanyi is a member of the MSZP Presidium. Your party has severed relations with the Romanian Communist Party. What, in practice, does this mean?

[Vitanyi] When it was formed, the MSZP decided that it would rethink its relations. Naturally, it would like to maintain all of its relations with the socialist countries' communist, socialist, and workers' parties, but now withouit principled bases. For this reason, earlier, when the Romanian Communist Party congress was held, we decided that we did not want to take part in it. There was no reply from the Romanians. However, the current events, primarily the events in Timisoara—and we do not know exactly what future course they will take—means for us that we at the present moment cannot, with the Romanian Communist Party, maintain a party relationship of the type which should link the various countries' parties organized on behalf of socialism, on an equal basis.

[Marvani] Do you perhaps plan to issue a statement, in order to explain your step to the Romanian Communist Party.

[Vitanyi] Naturally. [end recording]

Nemeth Assembly Speech Condemns Acts

LD2012103189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed fellow deputies: We have all been watching for days, holding our breath with appalled astonishment, at the events which are occurring in Romania. For this reason, I most definitely wish to inform you that last night, after the parliamentary session, I held a cabinet-type meeting of a narrow circle where we decided that the relevant elements and organs of the government will continually monitor events and will definitely take the necessary measures.

During the course of this, we have requested Romania's ambassador in Budapest to come to the Foreign Ministry.

Now I would like to ask you, not as premier but as a deputy, to agree that we should raise a black flag over the National Assembly, and remember with reverence the Hungarian, Romanian, German, and other victims of the dictatorship with 1 minute's silence. Their memory lives on in our hearts. [applause, minute of silence]

Thank you. Esteemed fellow deputies, I would now like to say a few words about the warning work stoppage this morning by the train drivers. This action compels us to draw lessons. This work stoppage affected the broad masses of the population on their way to work this morning. It had a disruptive effect on the work order. The government and I do not dispute that the situation of train drivers is indeed difficult, and I hope that we will solve their dispute with MAV [Hungarian State Railways] through negotiations, in a way that they find the necessary compromise within possibilities.

However, I ask that we reflect on this situation for a moment. The majority of Hungarian society is experiencing a difficult situation, and in the coming year, as we mentioned both yesterday and today, will get into a more difficult situation. The possibilitiies are tight, thus we can—and it is possible to—moderate the problems which have been accumulating for many decades, only in the most acute situations.

What happens, however, if teachers, ambulance workers, electrical works employees, miners, or any other group in a situation which is becoming more difficult, chooses a means of asserting their interests which hurts other groups? If this process is started, then it will gradually destroy society.

For a long time now it has not been a question of the government's fate, but a question of the country's fate. I caution everyone against embarking on this path, for only by joining together with each other, and with durable tenacity, can we get out of the trouble we are in.

The government has now gotten into a similar situation with the draft on housing measures. I do accept that it is a measure which can be criticized and attacked from very many sides. The government has suffered through working out the proposal, not just in a professional way, but in a human, moral way, too. But, knowing the possibilities, it could do nothing else. And, because of the responsibility it feels for the future of the country, for the avoidance of collapse, it can only make a compromise by taking the real possibilities into account.

I acknowledge that a huge responsibility rests upon you now. I can only say one thing: We are living through historical times. And you should make your decision in awareness of this, so that your decision—bearing in mind the interests of the country—really serves the future and above all ensures the possibility of a peaceful transition. Thank you for your attention.

Horn Discusses Events

LD2012114489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1020 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Remarks by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn at Hungarian National Assembly Session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, I ask your forgiveness for turning to you before the debate on the budget, but since it came up in a pointed manner here in the Parliament that you demand a briefing about the Romanian events, I asked leave to speak.

We have creditable information about the following: On 13 December, the Romanian authorites called on pastor Laszlo Tokes to leave his home, to hand over his office and congregation. Insofar as he did not comply with the appeal, they would use force against him. Laszlo Tokes did not comply with the appeal, and he accepted a martyr' fate.

On Friday, 15 December, the faithful assembled in large numbers outside the pastor's Timsoara home. They demanded that the pastor be left in his office. It has to be said that the demonstration became ever wider in scale, and it turned more and more into a political demonstration.

By Saturday night, a crowd of several thousand demonstrated outside the county party headquarters—peacefully, I would stress. The Romanian authorities deployed riot police. They arrested many people and dragged Laszlo Tokes and his wife to an unknown place.

I would like to stress that among the pastor's demands peaceful religious endeavors and viewpoints figured expressly.

The security forces, and then more and more the military units, deployed hand-held weapons and armored units, against the crowd, and serious clashes occurred. They acted in an extraordinarily brutal way with regard to the demonstrators. They fired into the crowd, and according to our creditable information, the attack so far has left several hundred dead victims.

At the same time, the Romanian authorities ordered a national state of alert. They alluded to the fact, among other things—and it is what was said to the party membership, the broad public opinion, and the members of the armed forces—that the Timisoara events had been incited from Hungary and that Hungary is preparing an armed provocation against Romania. Alluding to this, they ordered the state of alert and sealed the borders.

You know that earlier the Hungarian Government made an unsuccessful attempt to protest in the affair of Laszlo Tokes. Since this was unsuccessful, Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the republic, addressed a message to Nicolae Ceausescu.

Yesterday we conveyed the stance adopted by the National Assembly on Monday to UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar, asking him to brief the member states about the stance.

The interior, defense, and foreign ministers have held several discussions under the leadership of Premier Miklos Nemeth, the most recent of which was last night. We took the necessary measures demanded by the situation that has developed. Among these, we decided last night that I should summon the Romanian ambassador in Budapest today. This has happened. I inform you that on behalf of the Hungarian Government, I informed the Romanian ambassador of the following:

First: The Hungarian Government protests against the measures carried out against Laszlo Tokes and his wife. We also received with amazement the fact that they did not react at all to the earlier protests by the government and by Hungarian public opinion. Laszlo Tokes was persecuted, violence was used against him, and all this stands in stark contrast to the human rights obligations of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, undertakings in which Romania is also a participant. In the name of the Hungarian Government, we resolutely demanded the immediate release of Laszlo Tokes, his placement back into his office and rights.

Second: The Romanian authorities are impeding Hungarian citizens from travelling into Romania. Neither do they let other citizens travel through, and for this reason they are obliged to wait in Hungary. All this behavior is contrary to the international obligations undertaken by Romania according to which states are obliged to insure unimpeded passenger travel and traffic. On behalf of the Hungarian Government, we demand the restoration of normal conditions.

Third: The Romanian authorities are impeding the normal functioning of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest. They are taking an aggressive stance toward the personnel of the embassy, isolating them from maintaining any kind of contact. We demand immediate measures in the interest of restoring normal conditions, working conditions.

Fourth: We protest against the fact that peaceful demonstrators are being assaulted, even murdered en masse. These acts are contrary to every—and not just international—norm; they are inhuman measures.

Fifth: According to reliable information, the Romanian authorities are suggesting that the demonstrators are being incited from Hungary, and furthermore that Hungary is preparing for a military provocation against Romania. We most definitely reject this, for it has no foundation, and any such intention is contrary to Hungary's policy.

I emphasized to the ambassador that according to our judgement, the mass demonstrations had been sparked off by such reasons as the violation of the fundamental human rights of the Romanian people, of the nationalities; the population's catastrophic living conditions; and the trampling underfoot of religious freedom. I also expressed my opinion that in our view, according to our conviction, the Romanian people sense more and more the contrasts and differences between the political immobility of their own country and the huge changes taking place in the neighboring Eastern and central European countries.

The Hungarian Government demands that the Romanian Government publicly disassociate itself from incitements against the Hungarian Republic.

By way of information, I wish to tell you the essence of the Romanian ambassador's reply. Everything that is happening and has happened there constitutes the internal affair of Romania. Nowhere in the world have they resolved in such an outstanding, perfect way the guarantee of religious freedom and human rights as in Romania. [coughs and pauses]

I stressed, in reply, that the area of human rights is where the international agreements—including the various agreements of the United Nations or the Helsinki Final Act and agreements linked to it—that in the area of human rights these agreements impose commitments on every single state. In other words, this cannot be regarded merely as the internal affair of any single country. I also asked the ambassador that we be given a reply to the government's stance as soon as possible.

At the same time, the ambassador stressed further—and in this he requested the mediation of the Hungarian authorities—that the atrocities against the Romanian

Embassy in Budapest be stopped, since the building of their Budapest Embassy had been damaged, and that the Hungarian authorities guarantee the embassy's unimpeded operation. For my part, I made a promise that we would try to the maximum extent to guarantee this.

On the other hand, I said that I could not accept—what he likewise demanded—that we should stop every kind of demonstration, since the right of demonstration, as the right to express opinion, is included in every international agreement and it is international, general international practice. We will try with all our strength to assure the guarantee of the embassy's security.

On this occasion, I would like to call on everyone outside the walls of this hall not to burden this, in any case, grave problem with any kind of incident or violence. Violence can lead only to violence, and we have no need for this. If anyone demonstrates, that is his elemental human right, but it must not be replaced by violence.

There is one more thing I would like to say by way of informing the Esteemed National Assembly, that the various organizations, thus the (?pofosz) and others, have turned to us, to the government, to the Foreign Ministry, with the request that the Hungarian Government take steps in the UN Security Council in connection with the events in Romania. I would like to inform you that we will make use of every possible tool, and we will make a stand in the international forums in the interest of the affair being settled, the situation being changed. However, according to the rules of the Security Council, we can only turn to it if the events taking place in a country directly threaten international security. For the time being, in this case, there is no question of this. Naturally, if the events deteriorate further, we will take this step too.

I ask you, with respect, to accept this briefing. Thank you very much. [applause]

Deputy Calls For Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD2012120389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1035 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Remarks by Deputy Zoltan Kiraly at Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] Esteemed House, Esteemed Minister. Accepting all that you said, and the supplement which was formulated on the conditions for turning to the Security Council, nevertheless I will make a proposal for which I ask for the support of the esteemed House.

Taking into account the extremely tense situation which has developed [in Romania], and with consideration also for the fact that here are two Warsaw Pact member states which are particularly concerned in this affair, I propose that the Hungarian Government immediately initiate the convening of an extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, to discuss this question, this enormous problem, and to settle it peacefully according to the possibilities.

Thank you. [applause] [passage omitted]

Karpati Summons Military Attache

LD2012134589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati has summoned the military attache of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest and requested information on the events there. Other competent officials in the ministry have made contact with the Romanian military leadership. Hungarian ministry representatives were informed from Bucharest that the Romanian Army is on stepped-up alert in Timisoara and its vicinity, but did not take part in the actions against the demonstrators. In this connection, the military attache said that the uniforms of the Army and internal security forces are almost exactly the same. Thus, it is easy to mix them up. He told Ferenc Karpati that he would inform the Romanian defense minister about his questions and that a reply presumably would be given within a short time. Ferenc Karpati said that the leadership of the Hungarian Army, the General Staff, are consistently dealing with the situation that has developed in Romania.

Berecz Calls Committee Meeting on Events

LD2012121489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1037 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Remarks by Deputy Janos Berecz, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, at the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed House, while I too thank the foreign minister for his briefing, I would like to inform the Esteemed House that during the break I took action—as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee—for the committee to hold a session during the short break this afternoon. I asked the Foreign Ministry's parliamentary liaison to put together, in that time and together with those competent in the Foreign Ministry, every fact and proposal possibility that may determine the steps for the coming period. Let us take note of the international steps and reaction that has happened to date. On the basis of this, the Foreign Affairs Committee will formulate a proposal and before the conclusion of today's session, the Foreign Affairs Committee will make a submittal to the Esteemed House, if we receive support for this. [applause]

Government Denies Troop Moves on Border

LD1912214389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Defense Ministry denies the rumors that troop concentrations might have been carried out in Romania, in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border. Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti came into the studio of "News World" [this bulletin] a few minutes after 2100.

[Keleti] A discussion in the office of Premier Miklos Nemeth ended a few minutes ago in which—apart from the premier—the foreign minister, the defense minister, and the chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army took part. I imagine that everyone must note with satisfaction that the Hungarian Government feels full responsibility in the matter. This, too, is why there was an evaluation this evening, after the session of parliament.

As a result of this evaluation, Gyula Horn is expected tomorrow to call the Romanian ambassador in Budapest into his office, and to ask him for information, a briefing. To our knowledge, within the shortest time possible after this, the Foreign Ministry will brief public opinion.

[Announcer] Reports have spread through the city, in connection with the Timisoara events, that armored troops have been concentrated on the Romanian side of the Hungarian-Romanian border.

[Keleti] It is true, such reports have spread. It has been possible to hear them on the radio, to read them in the newspaper. However, I have to say that these reports originate from informants who are not experts, and who are laymen in military matters. I should like to reassure everyone that the leadership of the Hungarian People's Army is continuously assessing the developments. I should also like to add that we have no information which might pertain to concentrations and troop movements immediately along the border.

International Tokes Movement Formed

LD1912223789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Excerpt] In Hatvan, an International Laszlo Tokes Movements has been formed. Arpad Zengoe reports from their first event:

[Begin Zengoe recording] First, Dr Ernoe Raffay, historian, analyzed Romania's nationality policy going back over several decades. He concluded his train of thought in this way: The Magyars in Romania, in my evaluation and according to my knowledge, have never wanted to live on Romania's territory. I say, as a National Assembly deputy, that I will do everything to fulfill, sooner or later, this wish of the Magyardom in Romania.

(Istvan G. Palffy), the main government adviser on nationality affairs, emphasized that it is quite certain that it was not our encouragement which caused what happened and what will happen in Romania. It is quite certain that it is the great lesson of history that in difficult situations, history always chooses its own people. We really only gave and can give our spiritual support in this. [passage omitted] [[end recording[

Kulcscar, Szuros Condemn Oppression

LD2012105489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The participants in the Laszlo Tokes Movement's demonstration in Hatvan have raised their voices in protest. Prior to that, they recalled in silent mourning the victims of the merciless volleys—the Hungarians, Romanians, and Germans—who died as a result of the terror. Arpad Zengo reports:

[Zengo] [Passage omitted] The gathering of several hundred was addressed by Dr Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice.

[Begin Kulcsar recording] The name of Laszlo Tokes has now been elevated to a symbol. The Ceausescu-type nationalities policy is not a nationalities policy any more. By now this is a dictatorship which holds nothing sacred. At such a time, who can confront such a dictatorship? Only someone—and let us hope only one—who holds sacred the mankind's right to individualism, sovereignty, and freedom of thought, who holds sacred his God, whom he wishes to praise, and who holds sacred his language, in which he wishes to praise his God. This is what Laszlo Tokes did, and thus also, from this point of view, he is a symbol, a symbol of moral greatness and of the fact that with such pure morality, with such pure humanity, one can indeed confront even the most unrestrained dictatorship.

With this, this dictatorship has shut itself off from Europe. But the solidarity that emerges today throughout the world at the sound of Laszlo Tokes' name carries the strength of European thinking into Romania as well. [end recording]

[Zengo] Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the Republic, said the following:

[Begin Szuros recording] I first visited Bucharest on an official mission in 1982. When I came home, this is more or less what I was able to report to the Hungarian ladership: Please, it is very difficult to achieve results by employing honest methods against dishonesty. In Romania nationalism has been raised to the level of official policy, and in its policies—not on account of the Romanian people, but in its policies—Romania is a separate category in Europe.

How is it that that the Romanian ambassador in Budapest does not accept, on behalf of the Foreign Ministry, the message of the Hungarian president to President Ceausescu? Please, this is anything but civilization, and it is not a European attitude.

They employ similar methods, and they deal mercilessly with the Magyardom living there. We cannot tolerate this. We also shall do everything in the future, using the opportunities and tools at our disposal, to draw the attention of the world and gain the solidarity of various states, including ultimately the United Nations, to take a stand together with us for human rights, for the rights of nationalities, and to prevent the further suffering of Magyardom.

With a clear conscience we can support—and this is not nationalism, either—those endeavors, starting in Transylvania, which show that the people deserve to have their own autonomy, their rightful independence. [end recording]

Bishop Asks UN, Nations Assistance

LD1912195889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Report by Szeged correspondent Zsuzsa Ladanyi]

[Text] Endre Gyulay, county bishop of Szeged-Csanadi, made the following call to the country's public opinion.

My church diocese, from Szeged to Debrecen, goes along the Romanian border. A very large number of refugees escape across this stretch, so the Hungarian Catholic Bench of Bishops has entrusted me with aiding the refugees and handling their affairs. Thus, I had and have the opportunity to hear about events in Romania from eyewitnesses.

They speak about repression on a scale beyond anything hitherto and beyond all human conception; about the series of open and conscious violations of human rights; about the sad fate of the Hungarians and Germans, dishonored in the awareness of their nationality; and about the annihilation of European values, inspired by hatred. However, they also speak about hunger, cold apartments, and a lack of basic medicines, about the harrassment of Laszlo Tokes, and about fear induced in thousands and thousands and about their being taken away.

And now, Timisoara and Arad. The sound of machine-gun fire, the gun barrels of marching armored corps pointed at a never ending stream of people. Who has the right to defend people's interests against the people? Does a person whose conscience does not speak out about what has happened have a conscience?

We Catholics protest according to our conscience and ask everyone to do everything in their power to counter these sad events. Both the United Nations and the great powers should use their authority (?in this), and should put an end to this repressive bloody path. We, if needed—though we wish it were not this way—are gladly willing to help the refugees, although we know that the solution does not lie in leaving one's home and country, as was also the case with the East Germans.

We believe that the true shaper of history is God. Therefore, I call on every believer to pray, to ask for His help, that by His grace all terror will cease and let the peace of Christmas finally fill all of Europe, including our neighboring, suffering, repressed brothers. During this weekend and during the holidays let us pray for them in all churches, for those who cannot celebrate Christmas in peace of heart and external environment, that justice, love, and peace finally will come to them, too.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Events

AU1912222489 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi by Karl Stipsicz in Budapest; date not given—recorded; Oszi statements in Hungarian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Stipsicz] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is adopting a reserved attitude. It knows that any comment might further harm the 1.7 million Hungarians in Romania. Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi is the ministry's expert for Romania.

[Begin recording] [Oszi] Our information according to which the Romanian Army and the security forces are on the alert shows that the situation is more explosive than it has appeared to be so far. For this is a very drastic measure.

I think that the situation in Romania is completely unpredictable. The power is so centralized in the hands of very few persons that there is no room for alternatives, for people who are not completely loyal to the party line.

Chance plays a major role in such a situation. This was the case in Bracov 2 years ago. The cases of the teacher Doina Cornea and of the priest Laszlo Tokes are similar.

[Stipsicz] Where the clashes in Timisoara not only the beginning? Will there not be incidents involving far more bloodshed?

[Oszi] Unfortunately, this danger exists. The question is how we who are sitting here can help to prevent this. The reaction by the West and the international public will be decisive. So far, they have kept politely and indignantly out of this and have cooly watched the events. They believe that they have disposed of their responsibilty by formal protests. One really cannot influence such people in this way. I think that it is time for people to understand what is happening in this country, in Romania, and to emphatically oppose this. [end recording]

TV To Broadcast News in Romanian

LD1912181889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Here we draw our listeners' attention to the fact that at 1700 [1600 GMT] tonight, on television Channel Two, we shall be reading the news in the "Kepujsag" [current affairs magazine program] in Hungarian and Romanian as well.

FRG Minister Klein Visits Pecs

LD1712205589 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 17 (MTI)—Minister Hans Klein, head of the Press and Information Office of the FRG who is staying in Hungary as a member of Chancellor Kohl's entourage, paid a brief visit to Pecs, the centre of Germans in Hungary, on Sunday.

Mr Klein paid a courtesy visit to Mihaly Mayer, the new bishop of Pecs. On the invitation of the Lenau society, the federal minister visited the Lenau House, the cultural centre of Germans living in South Transdanubia. In a meeting with the journalists of Hungarian and German papers, Mr Klein reconfirmed that the consulate general of the FRG would be set up in Pecs.

Mr Klein and the leaders of the reorganized Kolping Society of Pecs agreed that the movement dealing with social and educational issues might build a bridge between Pecs and Augsburg, the centre of Kolping society.

Expected Food Price Hikes Listed

LD1912195689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Next year an average 25-26 percent increase must be expected in food prices. It was announced in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food today that the following price increases can be expected: meat, 30-32 percent; sugar, 16-18 percent; margarine and cooking oil, 30 percent; consumer goods, 21-22 percent; confectionary industry products, 19-20 percent; wine, 20 percent; beer, 22-24 percent; tobacco goods, 24-26 percent. According to the justification, this is made necessary because of the large scale cutback in producer supports, as well as the growing costs of the industrial and import materials used.

Government Reduces Border Guard

LD1712214989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Good evening. In the future, instead of the chairman of the National Prices Office, it will be the minister of agriculture and food who has rights of jurisdiction over prices of agricultural products, foods and consumers' goods. This, among other things, was decided by the Council of Ministers at its session today. Jolan Gal represented "Newsreel" at the briefing held by the spokesman:

[Gal] [passage omitted] A law is being prepared on the state borders, on their protection, and in connection with this, the modernization of the Border Guard was discussed:

[Begin recording] [Government spokesman] It is possible to gain economical, effective border guards and border-traffic supervision with professional staff, therefore without involving the work of conscripts. As compared to that, at present, the staff of the Border Guard will decrease by some 60 percent. The maintenance costs foreseeably will decrease by one-third of those at present. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Conscription To Drop by Ten Thousand

LD0812161789 Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 8 (MTI)—In February next year, about 10,000 fewer young people are to be drafted for military service in connection with the army reform which has been announced recently, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti told a press conference at the Ministry of Defence on Friday. He added that the service would probably last 18 months, because the 12-month military service term would be introduced as of 1991. However, it is expected next year that parliament will modify the defence law, and it is, therefore, possible that in 1990 not everybody will be drafted for 18 months.

Journalists were told that a total 637 young people had applied for alternative service. To date, 533 applications have been judged, with 118 rejected. Most of the applicants referred to social motives, instead of conscientious considerations, which does not give ground for alternative service under the law, the spokesman said, giving grounds for the rejections.

Gyorgy Keleti also pointed out that, in connection with the crucial laws passed at the October session of Parliament, the defence minister ordered that soldiers must not form political or other social organizations at their service place, and must not spread such positions or views either orally or in writing. Outside service places, they are allowed to attend events organized by parties or social organizations, but only in civilian clothes.

Horn Interviewed on Party, Economic Affairs

AU1812124689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Dec 89 pp 1,5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Vajda in Budapest on 10 December: "What Is Wrong With the Party Leadership?"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], made a striking speech at a meeting held in Budapest on 9 December under the motto: "Forum for National Development." His exclusive interview with NEPSZABADSAG deals with issues included in his speech.

[Vajda] According to news about your speech, you strongly attacked the "large-scale enterprise lobby." What is exactly behind all this, and what prompted you to do this?

[Horn] One of the speakers in the debate said that, so far, we have only been demolishing things, and now we should also start building things. I questioned the correctness of this statement. In my view, the construction that has been going on in the last 1 and ½ years, and particularly in recent months shows that we have created the institutional basis for change in the regime. Today, only antidemocratic and violent means could overthrow our new democratic institutions.

[Vajda] To put it mildly, this seems improbable....

[Horn] I think so, too. Our foreign partners have also expressed their great appreciation for what we have constructed. However, it is also a fact that there are areas where things need to be demolished. I mean here first of all the economy, where the old structure and the obsolete management form continue to exist, and the necessary personnel changes have not yet taken place either. This has led to increasingly serious economic and political consequences. The influence of the large-scale enterprise leaders' lobby continues to be strong which, in concert with the enterprise councils, hinders genuine changes and prevents performance from becoming the real standard. However, we can really change the pressing and deteriorating conditions of the working people only if market effects free of any subjective elements are asserted, and if it is clear who has done how much.

[Vajda] Obviously you do not mean here only the performance of individual workers.

[Horn] Of course, I mean precisely the various branches and economic units.... The government has done a lot this year to change the situation, but we must self-critically admit that it has failed to take genuine measures in this respect. From a political aspect, I see the danger that, cooperating with some bodies which represent interests and with demagogic extreme-left trends, the large-scale enterprise leaders' lobby will continue to oppose genuine changes. This could make our domestic situation even more uncertain.

[Vajda] Such a situation obviously affects the opportunities of our international economic cooperation.

[Horn] It does, and so much so that, in concrete cases, foreign partners make the implementation of the aforementioned changes a condition for cooperation, and they only support sensible and profitable plans.

[Vajda] Dealing with your evaluation of the party situation, you said you thought the MSZP had made a big mistake when it did not elect a clearly reform leadership at its inception. The various platforms continue to exist in the leadership, and this makes the leadership considerably uncertain. It transpired from your words that the most suitable thing for the party is to carry out a change of leadership before the elections. What was in fact the essence of your words?

[Horn] In connection with Mihaly Bihari's words and the studies distributed at the meeting, I expressed my view that one should not think only in terms of the MSZP when considering the left-wing, but also in terms of all those trends and persons that want real democracy. The collaboration of all left-wing and democratic forces is essential for the upcoming National Assembly elections because a possible serious defeat of these forces could exclude them from the political arena for a long time. In connection with the MSZP, I stress that the latest party congress had basically two functions. One: we had to fundamentally do away with the past and put an end to the tango politics.

[Vajda] What is that? I presume something different from the dance floor?

[Horn] One step to the right and one step to the left, and the result is that there is no progress. The second function was to create a socialist democratic party. The congress carried out these two tasks, but in an inconsistent manner. Various platforms that often represent incompatible views continue to be present in the party. This is one of the main reasons for the inconsistency of the party positions and for the masses' lack of confidence in the party itself. This is also connected to the fact that the leadership is not firm enough, its manifestations are often insignificant, and therefore, these manifestations have no effect. In connection with this, I said that, preparing for the elections, the party should create a leadership core above the platforms....

[Vajda] What would be the relations of this core with the current Presidium?

[Horn] This core in charge of guiding the party's major areas of activity should emerge from within the Presidium.

[Vajda] From all these, I seem to have understood well: You did not think at all of a need to carry out a change in the position of the party chairman?

[Horn] Whatever people understood from my text, this is not what I meant or said.

[Vajda] You have already mentioned the upcoming elections. After all, in your view, what are the main tasks ahead?

[Horn] It is my firm view that, in their current situation, people are not mainly concerned about abstract ideas and comprehensive programs—of which there is an abundance now. Their questions reflect their increasingly difficult problems, and they would like to get answers to these questions. The MSZP should immediately provide an exact picture of the problems concerning the working people and the families, and the party should formulate its own credit-worthy answers.

In my view, every member of the leadership should represent this answer. On the other hand, I find it necessary to evaluate the support of social strata and groupings on which the MSZP can count, because the party can strengthen its influence only through these strata. Great attention should also be directed at those who have not yet decided on what forces to support. These people represent a considerable strata, so much so that, most probably, these people will decide the results of the elections. The MSZP should focus maximum attention on them.

[Vajda] As we are approaching the elections, one can hear with increasing frequency not only of balancing accounts but also of settling accounts and getting even. Did you discuss this at the meeting, and what is your opinion about this?

[Horn] We discussed this in detail. I expressed my view that, lately, one has been able to see efforts aimed at settling accounts not only in connection with past decades, but also in connections with the past 1 and ½ years. I consider it vital to think not only in terms of a nation, but to also engage in politics by regarding the interests of the country. Everyone should accept the past, but the way in which the issue of the past was treated in Spain—a country also deeply divided—should be an example for us. In the second half the seventies, placing the nation's interests above everything else, the socialists and the right-wing, as well as all the constitutional forces, agreed to disregard who was on which side of the barricades in the civil war and in the Franco regime, and to concentrate on democratic construction. Perhaps we could learn a lot from this, too.

Medgyessy Supports Demand for Privatization Law

LD1512205689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Many people in Hungary fear that the nation's assets are being sold for peanuts to foreigners at a time of great poverty. Is this anxiety justified? This is the subject of the negotiations between the government and the parties. Erno Kardos reports:

[Begin Kardos recording] The opposition parties already have a man in the government: Peter Medgyessy. The deputy prime minister promised that he would under any circumstances support the opposition's demand to have their own office as soon as possible because it is the only way to inform the parties in a timely manner when the government wants to initiate talks with the opposition.

Today's meeting was organized because even the government now believes that the conversion law must be supplemented with a law on the protection of assets and the asset fund. Should that fail to happen, the political powers will helplessly observe from the sidelines that the nation's assets are squandered in a legal way. Peter Medgyessy admitted that the gaps in the law have appeared partly through a mistake by the government and partly through that of Parliament, and therefore he considers it his duty to correct them—but only if the opposition parties also agree that this draft bill should be presented to this parliament by this government.

The majority of the opposition parties agree with the deputy prime minister's view. They believe that the economy today is a free hunting ground into which the political power can easily sink, and it may be feared that, at a later stage, out of this economic power another political power may arise.

Deputy Minister Istvan Tompe admitted that there is no legal tool for the protection of national wealth today.

Marton Tardos, representing the Alliance of Free Democrats, said that the sale of state enterprises is only part of the economic elite's squandering of the national wealth in its own interests. Another part follows from the fact that the factories consume their own assets in order to pay wages. He thinks that an organization is needed to oversee privatization but that this should be only a temporary institution with a mandate lasting only until the next election. Those involved in carrying out privatization should be responsible, even with their own property, for their possible mistakes.

The Hungarian Socialist Party representative emphasized that laws must be created that do not hamper the unfolding of economic processes.

Alfred Sinkovics, summarizing the Independent Socialist Party's view, said that the government cannot avoid having parliament legislate a law which is similarly full of loopholes in place of the existing laws with their own gaps. He believes that the entire transformation process must be halted and reexamined.

All this notwithstanding, the majority voted for the legislation of laws protecting the national assets. Peter Medgyessy, in conclusion, stressed that during a time of transition, coalition methods are necessary in the leadership, but he reaffirmed that this could not replace a coalition government. [End recording]

Government Statement on Bankruptcy Procedure

AU1912111289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Government Statement on bankruptcy procedures—date and place not given]

[Text] Authorized by the Council of Ministers' session held between 30 November and 2 December, the government's Economic Council issues the following statement:

An increasing number of enterprises are unable to fulfill their payment obligations, and this has already created an intolerable situation in the functioning of the financial system. The current system of financial restrictions can be replaced by more flexible and selective financing only if payment discipline is simultaneously restored and if economic restructuring is accelerated. Simultaneously with the development of profitable ventures, bad economic management should face its necessary consequences: its own bankruptcy.

In past years, mainly promises and threats have been voiced about curbing inefficient production and eliminating insolvent enterprises. In fact, the number of enterprises closed and of people who lost their jobs remained insignificant. Failure to eliminate inefficient enterprises and the artificial maintenance of ventures incapable of paying their dues have contributed to the maintenance of local stability and the preservation of an appearance of security. However, precisely as a result of all these things, the whole country drifted into an increasingly serious and uncertain situation. The initiation of elimination procedures that bring to light the losses already suffered is an indispensable step toward reducing the sources of losses, restoring financial discipline, and reducing the increase in prices in the long term.

The government supports all initiatives that—doing away with the current practice—are aimed at eliminating enterprises that fail to fulfill their payment responsibilities and at forcing enterprises to observe the obligations they have assumed. The government provides moral support for organizations that accept such unpopular tasks, including the commercial banks, and the government will help them by means of consistent goverment activity, by limiting its rehabilitation activity to absolutely necessary cases, and by accelerating this activity. As early as the beginning of the elimination procedure, the government will apply financial measures to make the increase in resources deriving from frozen demands perceptible.

The government is aware of the inevitable negative economic and social effects and will do everything to ease them. The government has created new institutions and means and is setting up a separate employment policy fund in order to ease employment problems, help those temporarily unemployed, and ease financial and problems of daily living. To replace the occasional losses in basic material and spare parts production, the government will guarantee extraordinary import opportunities for these enterprises and will acknowledge the halt in their export activity.

While the government itself is doing away with the present harmful traditions and is supporting the new processes with all the means at its disposal, it is also aware that this harms local and partial interests. However, the government counts on the understanding and patience of the affected strata of the population and on broad public support in defending nationwide interests.

Radio Workers Reject Supervisory Group

LD0912113489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The staff of Hungarian Radio have taken the stand at their meeting that they do not recognize the supervisory committee appointed by Government, since it is not suited to control the institution's unbiased operation. The participants also reaffirmed their previous stand that a genuine lack of bias can be served only by a body whose jurisdiction does not extent to anything else, and which pursues its activity only in public. According to the Radio employees, only in this manner can it be avoided that anyone, alluding to the cleanliness of the elections, bypasses the national election presidium, which was constitutionaly created for this purpose.

Hungarian-Language Paper Launched in Slovakia

LD0712223989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] A new Hungarian-language daily is to be launched in Slovakia. The paper, entitled NAP [meaning either SUN or DAY] is being brought out by the movement Public Opinion Against Violence. Its chief editor is a member of the group Independent Hungarian Initiative, which proclaims objectives identical to those of the above-mentioned movement. The paper will be similar, but not identical, to the publication of the Slovak movement.

Reactions to Events, Unrest in Romania Reported

Foreign Ministry Statement

LD1912153389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1425 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] As far as the Foreign Ministry is concerned, human rights should be observed in every country, stated (Wladyslaw Klaczynski), deputy director of the Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department. He also said that Romania, as a member of the United Nations, has obligations stemming from the UN Charter, the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, and the CSCE Final Act as well. The behavior of the Romanian authorities is not just their affair, but that of the other signatories of the cited documents, stressed (Klaczynski).

Expulsion From Pact, CEMA Urged

LD2012135189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] The tragic events in Romania have deeply moved world opinion. Poles have never been indifferent to other people's tragedies. Today we are sharing the Romanians' drama together with them. Dr (Bogdan Lewandowski), political scientist at the Nicolaus Copernicus University, one of the leaders of Torun Social Democracy:

[Begin (Lewandowski) recording] The Polish public is shocked at the massacre of the people of Timisoara. The Torun Social-Democratic Initiative shares the indignation toward this act of genocide. We declare that the oligarchy ruling Romania—at the core of which is the Ceausescu family—has become a group of criminals. We are at one with the struggle of the Romanian public for fundamental human rights, for the elimination of the totalitarian system. Our solidarity should be unequivocal and decisive.

Today words of moral outrage alone are no longer enough. That is why we ask the president and the premier of the Polish People's Republic to take steps that would express in practice the condemnation of the gulag of Europe. In particular, we consider that the continuing participation of Romania, represented by its present authorities, is no longer possible within the structures of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. [end recording]

Walesa Letter Supports Tokes

LD1912183689 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 19—The press office of Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa conveyed a letter to PAP branch here today. This was the letter that Walesa had sent to Pastor Laszlo Tokes of Timisoara in Romanian as an answer to the latter's request for help and an appeal to people of goodwill for common protection of Pastor Tokes.

Letter to Pastor Tokes

I want to personally convey the words of Solidarity and my deep respect for your attitude. I sincerely admire your work carried out in a country that is in the grip of dictatorship. Even the walls of prison will not be able to conceal what is noble and good from the world.

Ignoring personal dangers, you have the courage and force to proclaim the truth and to unequivocally adhere to values recognized by the entire free world. The efforts that became the contents of your life at the same time add faith and new strength to all these for whose rights you speak up. The democratic world should support everything that serves democracy.

I want to tell you that I took steps that aim to organize actions to support your work and to condemn reprisals applied against you.

Appeal for Common Defence of Pastor Laszlo Tokes

It is the duty of free people to demand the rights for those who cannot enjoy freedom. Everybody has the right to a dignified life and that is why one should all the more so remember people who devote themselves to struggle for the dignity of others. Hungarian Pastor Laszlo Tokes, who defends his fellow-countrymen in Transylvania, belongs exactly to such people. He, his family and aides are the victims of drastic reprisals applied by the Romanian Government. His life is in danger.

I call on all people of goodwill, particularly on Nobel Peace prize winners, to take common action to defend Pastor Tokes and to express in it their solidarity by exerting international pressure on Romanian authorities.

Let the demand of human and civic rights for Laszlo Tokes be also the voice in the defence of all citizens of Romania persecuted by the inhuman regime of Nicolae Ceausescu.

Solidarity Statement

LD1912201489 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 19—Following is a statement on the events in Romania adopted by the Presidium of the National Executive Commission of Solidarnosc and presented to PAP for publication:

The Romanian authorities have quelled the demonstrations in Timisoara. There were fatal casualties and wounded. The Presidium of the Executive Commission of Solidarnosc expresses the most profound indignation at this. The dictator Ceausescu has once again proven that human life is of no value to him. The Romanian regime does not back away from crime, repression, and terror.

While democratic transformations are taking place in central-eastern Europe and nations are regaining freedom once lost, repression and terror continue to prevail in Romania.

We appeal to trade unions, to governments, to the international public opinion to express in a more firm way protest against these criminal practices.

PZPR 'Regrets' Events

LD1912224389 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 19—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau expressed sorrow and deep regret at the recent events in Romania, in solidarity with the stance of the Polish Sejm which was unanimously backed by PUWP Sejm deputies.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the elections of delegates to the 11th PUWP congress, and having found that there were too few workers and farmers among them, decided to ask the Central Committee to invite representatives of worker and farmer organizations to the congress.

The Political Bureau approved of draft reports on the activities of the CC and the implementation of the 10th PUWP CC resolution which will be tendered in for confirmation by the 27th PUWP CC Plenum.

The Political Bureau decided to submit the following draft party stands for pre-congressional discussion and next to the 11th PUWP Congress: On the economic situation and economic policy, the material situation of working people, the new constituion, and parliamentary democracy.

Najder on USSR 'About-Face' Concerning Blocs

AU1512160789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Dec 89 p 7

[Commentary by Zdzislaw Najder, former head of Radio Free Europe's Polish section: "The USSR and Alliances"]

[Text] At a news conference on 25 November, during his first visit to Moscow, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was asked to state Poland's attitude toward membership of the Warsaw Pact. Premier Mazowiecki replied that he foresaw the Warsaw Pact losing its military character and becoming a political alliance.

Ten days later, during a news conference off the coast of Malta, Gorbachev was asked about the future of the two great military blocs—the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact. His answer was that neither of these pacts "should remain military alliances, but should gradually change into military-political ones, and then purely political ones." Gorbachev added that the character of these alliances will change in line with the changes on our continent.

I do not know to what extent this similarity of views is the result of mutual influence. Nevertheless, it is significant, and perhaps promising.

Until now, USSR leaders have usually highlighted not only the military nature of the alliance, to which the Polish People's Republic belongs, but also its ideological nature. Now there is no longer any talk about ideological ties at all. Nevertheless, I think another clear change is of no less importance, and is even more striking. As recently as 5 months ago, on 6 July in Strasbourg, Gorbachev repeated the traditional call to abolish both blocs, the Atlantic Alliance and Warsaw Pact, at the same time. We remember that this used to be one of the main components of Soviet political-propaganda strategy. Yet now, all of a sudden, there has been an about-face. It was confirmed by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis on the basis of the talks he had held with Gorbachev in Rome, prior to the Maltese conference,.

There is other evidence as well, so there can be no doubts. Therefore one has to consider why the USSR is abandoning its call to abolish the two political-military blocs. I think there are three reasons for this change.

First, the socialist camp is ceasing to be both socialist and a camp. Until recently, the communists held absolute power in every country belonging to this camp. Moscow could afford to call for the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact because its cohesion was guaranteed not by formal alliances, but by the links between the fraternal parties. Now that the parties are losing their importance with lightning speech and non-Communists are becoming premiers, the USSR will need to regulate intergovernmental relationships in order to secure cooperation with its allies. Therefore the Warsaw Pact is still needed.

Second, Moscow would like to control, and at least delay, the process of German unification as much as it can. Gorbachev has realized that the likelihood of neutralizing both German states at the cost of their unification is minimal. He also realizes that all members of the Atlantic Alliance would also like to postpone German unification. As a political bloc, they have a lot to say on this subject. Therefore, the two blocs have interests in common, which are mutually complementary.

Third, for urgent economic reasons, the Soviet Union is concerned about the earliest possible accord with the United States on arms reductions, as well as economic cooperation. This objective is more feasible and urgent than dreams about separating Western Europe from America. That is why in Moscow, the classic policy of compromise is replacing the calls to eliminate the dangerous military blocs. (Footnote) This commentary was broadcast by Radio Free Europe on 10 December.

GDR Anti-Polish 'Campaign' Condemned

AU1912105689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Dec 89 p 7

[Wlodzimierz Korzycki commentary: "Egon Krenz's Poker Gambit"]

[Text] We have all been shocked by the restrictions imposed by the GDR authorities, especially by the fact that we are the chief target of attack. The Polish media have sounded an alarm, and tales have spread about refusals to sell Poles pieces of bread and turning them out of restaurants. Once again the eternal blood feud against German arrogance has been turned on. It is so easy for that to happen in Poland.

But what if we calm down and realize that everything that is happening on our Western border is a miserable, carefully premeditated strategy of which we are a part? What if Egon Krenz and his team had thought of the idea of convincing citizens that the market shortages in the GDR are the result of Poles indulging in trade? In fact, he has already succeeded, because he has won the first round.

We have always been aware of this trade, of course. However, all the meanderings of our "trade relations" with the East Germans have their source in the faulty structure of both countries' economies. In the GDR, a major percentage of goods is subsidized and therefore cheap and worth taking out of the country; at the same time, there is a demand for our products, as, for example, fashion clothes or car accessories. The flexible Poles have simply taken advantage of the relationship between supply and demand.

Today their glaring presence in the GDR is providing an excellent opportunity for activity that is clearly anti-Polish. This kind of activity used to take place before, only more secretively. One example of this was in 1981, when the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] staged a campaign in factories, "explaining" that the GDR working class has to work for Poles, because the Poles are only capable of striking. At that time, the point was to prevent a healthy socialist society from being infected by the "counterrevolutionary" virus. Nowadays the stakes are just as high, and perhaps even higher.

Egon Krenz is a very intelligent politician. He has realized the inevitability of democratic processes more quickly than his mentor, Erich Honecker (who appointed him his "crown price" years ago) did. He has boldly opened up the border in order to dispel the pent-up frustrations of his citizens and has declared a desire to hold dialogue. He has also half-heartedly suggested a readiness to resign should the party desire at its congress on 15-17 December. He accepts the deletion of the clause about the SED's leading role, but does not think that necessarily means a de facto disappearance of this role. Not only Krenz, but even a reformer such as Wolfgang Berghofer, mayor of Dresden (mentioned by many to be Krenz's successor) are saying that the leading role of the Communists must, and will be, manifested in practical activity. In fact, these people, claim that without the SED, there would be no GDR. The SED's situation is not so disastrous; opinion polls have revealed that as much as 17-19 percent of the respondents would vote for the Communists.

Although the GDR opposition has succeeded in bringing hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people out into the streets, it is still inadequately organized and basically weak. In addition, it does not understand the nature of the present maneuver; so far, the opposition has not voiced a single word of disapproval about the outrageous and scandalous action against the Poles, which violates the principles of the CSCE. The entire present movement of renewal could be stopped if the citizens became convinced that fundamental systemic reforms are not needed at all. According to local sociologists, as much as two-thirds of the population believes that "getting down to hard work," in other words support for the existing system, is needed more than anything else. In other words, success can be achieved not by abandoning an inefficient system, but by straightforward "better work."

Seeking external enemies has always been an excellent tool for real socialism. This used to distract one's attention from important issues and enabled the suppression of citizens demands. The violent campaign against the Poles shows that this method is still very much alive. The authors of this strategy are bound to find the angry anti-GDR tones in the Polish press (for example, a ZYCIE WARSZAWY commentary called "Polen raus") [German for "Poles out"] convenient. Then they can say to the opposition: "Look what the Poles, the very people you wish to emulate, are saying about you." But we have been through all this before.

So let us be calm. This is a political game for high stakes. It is easiest of all to play on emotions. And when these emotions turn into an invisible wall along the Odra and Nysa Rivers, all those who want to strangle the democratic changes in the GDR will rub their hands with glee. Let us not help stifle the Autumn of the People, like we once stifled the Prague Spring.

Skubiszewski Views German Unification Issue

PM1912122889 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 9 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Piet de Moor; date and place not given: "For Us the Border Question No Longer Exists"]

[Text] [De Moor] Were you not disappointed that Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who paid a visit to Poland and Warsaw at the beginning of November, appeared unwilling to recognize unambiguously Poland's western border, the so-called Oder-Neisse border? Several prominent commentators in West Germany took the view that Kohl omitted to do so for purely electoral reasons, that is, from the fear that an unambiguous statement could give the Republicans a couple of extra percentage points in the national elections next year. For this reason they have described Kohl's visit as a failure. They say that a true reconciliation with Poland has not taken place. Do you take the same view?

[Skubiszewski] No, not at all. I would call the federal chancellor's visit a success. As far as the borders are concerned, the normalization agreement of 1970 has been confirmed as the foundation for Polish-German relations. I do admit that there are differences of opinion between Poland and West Germany over the interpretation of this agreement. But in article 1 of this agreement, the FRG has recognized and affirmed that the "Oder-Neisse line" is the western border of Poland. That is what is called a "consentement" in French—the FRG's formal consent to this border. It is true that there are still many German laws, judgments, and administrative decisions which relate to Germany's 1937 borders. That does not make relations any easier. We simply have to forget 1937. Anyway, I assume that the FRG will accept Poland's western border as it is.

Of course I also know that in the future another question will be asked. What will happen if the German situation changes drastically? That is a question of the unity of the German people. However, for us at present this is not a current question, although it is already being much discussed. For example, Federal Chancellor Kohl has just put a 10-point program on German unification to the Bundestag, the West German parliament. But for us the question of the unification of the two German states is not a question on the agenda.

However, if something were to happen in this regard, then I say very clearly that the unification of the two states—whether it is called a confederation or a federation—can only happen within the framework of the existing borders. That must be clear to everyone. That is how it should be, in the light of international law and in the light of European politics. The reconciliation between France and the FRG is constantly being cited as a model. Good. But this reconciliation was carried through on the foundation of a border agreement. Is there any more discussion of the French-German border? I would summarize things as follows: For us the border question no longer exists. And we certainly reject any stance that wants to link the question of the unity of the Germans to a discussion of Poland's western border. They are two totally different things.

The fairly short statement in the joint declaration by Mr Mazowiecki and Mr Kohl is clear, and I am therefore most unwilling to speak of a failure. And do not forget that FRG Foreign Minister Genscher declared to the United Nations in September that the Germans, the people, the nation—he did not speak of one Germany as a state—recognize and respect the right of the Poles to live within secure borders, now and in the future. You also find these words in the 8 November declaration of the German Bundestag. There is no border question between Poland and the FRG. It is a question that has been settled once and for all.

[De Moor] It strikes me that with regard to the German question you are still speaking of unification and not of reunification. Do you consider the word "reunification" to be wrong?

[Skubiszewski] Yes. When you use the word "reunification" you think of something that was a fact in the past. True, in the past the old "German Reich" was a fact, but a unification of the two Germanies would be something new. For that reason, for me the word "reunification" is inexact.

[De Moor] However, you yourself have admitted that there are differences of opinion in the interpretation of the German-Polish agreement of 1970.

[Skubiszewski] The FRG is faithfully observing its international commitments, but maintains that a future reunited Germany is not bound by this agreement. I take a different view, and I reiterate it: If two states decide to unite, they do so within their existing borders. That is why I cannot accept that the border question should be raised at the same time as German unification. We respect the right of peoples to self-determination—including the right of the German people, but once again: That must take place within the framework of the existing borders which are now part of the European order. Anyway, unification or reunification, that is just terminology. What interests me is the content of these concepts.

[De Moor] During his recent visit to Moscow, Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki stressed that as well as the Germans' right to self-determination the role of the four great powers must be recognized in connection with the unification of Germany.

[Skubiszewski] Yes. That is clear from the Germany treaty signed by the three Western powers and the FRG. But that is no business of ours. The Western powers and the FRG still cite the responsibility of the great powers when it comes to the Berlin question. Why should the great powers not shoulder their responsibility for a possible unification of Germany? I know very well that the Germans do not like to hear talk of that, that they prefer to avoid any reference to the responsibility of the former occupying forces. But the involvement of the great powers has remained as a relic of the war, just as Berlin has remained a relic of the war. Bonn continues to speak of a peace treaty. That too is a relic of the war. Why then should the Germans suddenly be against the involvement of the great powers in connection with German unity? Is there any logic in that? Either they accept the involvement of the great powers, or they eliminate this involvement. I don't mind. But then the question of Berlin must be raised directly—I stress: directly.

[De Moor] Soviet President and party leader Gorbachev recently phoned France's President Mitterrand. Mitterrand has made public some parts of that conversation in LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS. Gorbachev is said to have declared: "German reunification will come up against an absolute Soviet veto. The day that German reunification is announced, there will be a two-line announcement that a Soviet marshall has taken my place."

[Skubiszewski] Surely you do not want me to comment on that? No.

[De Moor] So for Poland a German reunification within the 1945 borders is not a problem?

[Skubiszewski] Do not misunderstand me. The unification of Germany within the 1945 borders is a major problem for Poland. Why? It would mean the creation of a new great power in the heart of Europe. That means a not inconsiderable shift in the balance of power in Europe. I imagine that this is just as much of a problem for countries such as the Netherlands and Belgium. German unification is a problem for all Germany's neighbors. Regardless of what form it takes, a possible German unification must be seen as a European question. It is not simply a matter of the German people's right to self-determination, although I recognize that right. However, the right to self-determination is restricted, because other elements also have a role to play.

I have mentioned the great powers, and now I mention the whole of Europe. The unity of the German people is today not only a German question but a European question. It is not the sole preserve of the Germans. If things go that far, it must be settled in cooperation with the countries of Europe and in particular with neighbors such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and Poland. If this question can be resolved as a European question, the solution would be acceptable to us. When Federal Chancellor Kohl was in Warsaw, he gave us the assurance that any change in the German situation would not represent any danger to the security of its neighbors.

[De Moor] The West German Republicans will enter the upcoming West German parliamentary election campaign with the slogan: A neutral, nuclear-armed Germany within the 1937 borders. Is that not a war slogan?

[Skubiszewski] No war breaks out of its own accord in Europe. War means that there has to be some aggression. If a group of irresponsible politicians say that they want to restore the 1937 borders, it does not necessarily mean that a war will follow. The danger of war would only loom if this were to become the policy of the German Government. The Republicans are pretty far from power. For me the question is too hypothetical. Fortunately, I see no danger of a war in Europe, for, with the exception of some lack of clarity in the FRG over the German-Polish border, all European countries accept the existing borders. How could the Germans go against the will of all the countries of Europe? Perhaps they are not saying so in public—nor is that so important—but all the countries of Europe are telling us that Poland's existing Western border must not be touched.

[De Moor] In the West, people sometimes seem to forget that Poland, too, lost a great deal of its eastern territory at Yalta—areas that were swallowed by the Soviet Union.

[Skubiszewski] Yes, of course. Poland was not at the negotiating table when the decisions were made at Yalta. Almost half of Poland went to the Soviet Union. That is why the great powers decided to give the German areas east of the Oder and the Neisse to Poland. People also seem to forget that at that time the supreme authority in Germany belonged to the armies of occupation. They could quite legally alter Germany's borders. At that time the four great powers were the government of Germany.

[De Moor] How do you assess the changes in the GDR and Czechoslovakia? Are they developments favorable to Poland? What influence will they have on relations between the members of the Warsaw Pact?

[Skubiszewski] They must be favorable developments. They show that the internal affairs of the various individual members of the Warsaw Pact can be settled quite independently. That is very important, because for us that is a condition of our membership of the Warsaw Pact. We accept the Warsaw Pact, although we do so with the accent on the total freedom of our legal and constitutional systems. That is something with which the Warsaw Pact must not concern itself, for it has no authority to do so. Events such as the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1956 and, later, the joint intervention by the members of the Warsaw Pact in Czechoslovakia in 1968, were illegal. First, every military intervention is illegal and, second, the Warsaw Pact does not provide a platform for such intervention. In Article 8 of the Warsaw Pact you still find the principle of nonintervention.

The Warsaw Pact's role now appears to be very different. It is a pact that has an external orientation—that is, that military problems must be dealt with in the context of the existence of NATO in Western Europe. Perhaps there can be talks with NATO on individual questions that have not been raised in other forums. Perhaps the Warsaw Pact could also look into disarmament questions. In short, the Warsaw Pact is and remains an exclusively defensive alliance, nothing more. It is not an international pact which monitors and oversees the common ideology of its member states.

[De Moor] We hope that Gorbachev will succeed in the Soviet Union with his glasnost and perestroyka. Do you believe that if Gorbachev were to fail, the situation in Eastern and Central Europe is already so stable that no more danger threatens from the Soviet Union?

[Skubiszewski] I do not want to discuss a hypothesis in which Gorbachev fails in the Soviet Union. But in the case of complications arising in the Soviet Union, it is my view that it would now be very difficult to liquidate everything that has been accomplished in Central and Eastern Europe. It would be more or less impossible. I know, of course, that you take one step forward and a half step back. But something will remain. I give you the example of the Polish political movement, Solidarity, of which I, too, am a member. For Solidarity is more than a trade union movement: It is a movement which is

[Korzycki] When did the possibility of opening an office in Warsaw first arise?

[Vogel] This possibility first arose under the communists who were in power in Poland. I would also like to stress the importance of all the changes that have occurred in Poland in the meantime. The joint statement by the Polish and German Catholics on the 50th anniversary of World War II, signed by, among others, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Mieczyslaw Pszon on the Polish side, and myself, and many of my friends on the German side, testifies to the fact that the agreement with the present government in Poland already has its own tradition.

[Korzycki] Could you tell us something about the immediate program of the foundation?

[Vogel] To speak broadly, we want to establish a dialogue. In a nutshell, we want to give help in the form of advice. We intend to make available to everyone who is interested the principles of a socialized market economy, which Ludwig Erhard is so successfully implementing in the FRG. We are planning academic exchanges of scholars and making study grants available to young Poles. We have arranged an international symposium which will be attended by 15 Polish, and 15 European economic and banking experts. Poland is only at the beginning of a process, and all people must realize that a lot has to happen and there must be substantial aid before this new beginning leads to success.

[Korzycki] In the economic sphere?

[Vogel] Yes, but not only the economic sphere. We must not be fooled by the feeling that money can change everything. The most essential thing—the creation of new structures—can only take place in Poland itself. A needy man can be given a fish so that he can satisfy his hunger; he can be given a net so that he can catch fish; or he can be taught how to weave the net. In my view, the last alternative is the most important form of help one can give.

[Korzycki] What was Konrad Adenauer's attitude toward Poland?

[Vogel] The first chancellor of the FRG, who during the war was imprisoned along with the Poles by the Gestapo, had no doubts whatsoever that Poland would play an important role in postwar Europe. That is why he strove toward reconciliation and he believed that the issue of borders was not the most essential. I wish to stress emphatically that we do not want any new discussion on boundaries. We want the process of European integration to ensure that the frontiers begin to lose their divisive character. These principles are the foundations of our policy.

[Korzycki] How could the latest events in the GDR, especially the opening of the borders, influence Polish-German relations?

[Vogel] There is no other people in the world apart from the Poles, who understand our feelings better. The Poles were partitioned for many years, but they managed to unite in the end. We in the FRG, would often point to the Polish example in order to give ourselves hope and encouragement. German unification could only benefit Germany's neighbors, because the critical flash point in Europe would then disappear. We want a united Europe to which Poland and Hungary, as well as other countries, all belong, but we also want German unification, because these two elements are closely linked to one another. He who helps in the process of destroying divisions, is helping to heal a bleeding wound right in the center of Europe.

Sejm Delegation Visits FRG, Meets Suessmuth

LD1412142389 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 13 Dec 89

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Dec 13—After a delegation of the Sejm led by its Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz had come here from Munich, it met Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth today. The delegation is now on an official visit to the FRG.

During the talks the Polish delegation raised the topic of permanence of Poland's western border, which was fully understood by the Bundestag president who more than once voiced a stand on this question satisfying Poland. The Sejm speaker also raised the topic of damages for Poles who had suffered during World War II that was received by hosts with friendliness but without assuming any obligations. Both sides examined also immediate assistance for Poland, primarily for the population, irrespective of implementing normal economic agreements.

Kozakiewicz had talks also with FRG President Richard Von Weizsaecker who also showed understanding for Polish expectations both on the question of the border and the damages but, like the Bundestag president, he did not declare any obligations. Both sides raised also the question of a visit to Poland by the FRG president who once more confirmed his will to visit Poland next year.

On the third day of its visit to the FRG. The Sejm delegation had talks with leaders of the Bundestag floor groups of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, Social Democratic Party of Germany, and Free Democratic Party, Dregger, Vogel and Mischnick respectively.

Rakowski on Italy Talks, German Issue

AU1912161289 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[Dispatch by Zdislaw Morawski, permanent correspondent in Rome: "The Left and the Germans"]

[Text] Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, has ended 3 days of exceptionally intensive talks.

He was the guest of Bettino Craxi, who is the political secretary of the Italian Socialist Party as well as deputy chairman of the Socialist International, with whom he held two rounds of talks. He was also received by Italy's President, Francesco Cossiga, and by Mrs Jotti, leader of the Chamber of Deputies, and Prof Spadolini, leader of the Senate. He held talks with Ochetto, leader of the Italian Communist Party, Cariglia, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party, Flaminio Piccoli, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Foreign Affairs Commission and a leading Christian Democrat activist, as well as with Vice Premier Martelli and Foreign Minister de Michelis.

It is clear that the program was very full and that the meetings took place at the highest political level.

I asked the PZPR Central Committee first secretary to assess the visit and my first question was about how he saw the future of left-wing forces in our part of Europe in light of his talks. This is because the great changes that are taking place here are also causing these forces to realign.

The reply I received was: "The talks that I have had here have convinced me that socialists in the West are keenly aware of and wish to have an impact on the development of the situation in our part of Europe with a view to strengthening and establishing cooperation that is as close as possible with socialst, left-wing forces that they feel an affinity with. The fact that I was invited to Rome by Bettino Craxi can also be taken to be proof of this.

"However, Poland—and not only Poland—is still at the initial stage of forming itself and of organizing political forces and parties. So, it is difficult to envisage the emergence of some lasting arrangement of political forces in the near future, and this also applies to the left. The party that will come into being following the congress that we preparing for will be a socialist party that will draw on the experiences and traditions of Polish socialism, a party that will support parliamentary democracy, but it will definitely not be the only left-wing force. However, today there is no doubt about its readiness to cooperate with other forces, including those that exist within the "Solidarity" movement or are a part of it.

"However, I think that in order to achieve this, passions and the attitudes associated with them have to subside, and that requires time. In addition, the development of the situation within the country, which faces a difficult period of profound and painful socioeconomic changes, may influence the formation of left-wing forces and their readiness to cooperate with one another. This is also a process that cannot be defined in advance.

"In any case, the socialist party that will emerge from our upcoming congress will be ready to join the Socialist International and, I think, it will possess all the elements that are needed in order to become a member sooner or later. There are two parties that belong to it in Italy: the socialists and the social democrats. The situation in other countries is similar. This has to be borne in mind.

"When one talks about the position of the Socialist International on changes that are taking place in our part of Europe, on the changes in programs and principles of the parties that operate in it, it is worth bearing in mind that the development of the situation in our country, the situation and position of left-wing forces as well as their mutual cooperation under conditions of political pluralism, will all have some bearing on Western Europe, on the position of the social left in the other part of our continent. I do not have the slightest doubts about this after my talks here."

[Morawski] The German problem is an issue about which there is not only a consensus of opinion among left-wing forces, but also among much broader circles. How did the persons that you spoke to here view it?

[Rakowski] I would say that we accorded the problem much attention during our talks. I am convinced that all the significant political forces in Italy are aware of its enormous importance and also share the fears that we have about German unification. Unification was talked about for years and even called for in the knowledge that it could not happen. Thus, these were declarations for which no price had to be paid and which won sympathy in the FRG. Today, now that the problem has become a real one, a much more cautious position has been adopted. It is noted here that a unification process in one form or another is inevitable. I personally believe that this is no longer a political problem, but a national one. One can no longer resist the wishes of the masses; wishes that are being expressed in a particularly resolute manner.

The West also wants numerous guarantees connected with this, beginning with the permanence of the borders in Europe. This pertains, above all, to the Odra-Nysa border, but not only to that. I was told several times here, and by Minister de Michelis personally, that in the policy regarding the German question one should not consider German aspirations alone, but should also take account of the fears of Germany's neighbors, beginning with Poland. I am also convinced that the emergence of an 80-million-strong economic giant in the center of Europe, which is what Germany would be, arouses fears on the part of the other Western states.

The declarations that we hear on this subject from various quarters in the West undoubtedly point to a widespread understanding of all the dangers associated with the German problem. However, they are declarations, and life has taught me not to overestimate their importance.

[Morawski] That sounds pessimistic?

[Rakowski] Perhaps it is rather more skeptical than pessimistic. Regardless of the skepticism, I would like stress that during the course of all my talks I was convinced that with respect to this issue, Poland can perhaps becoming a political party, for within the movement there are people of varying political colors.

After the introduction of martial law in Poland in December 1981, Solidarity was liquidated. But, you see, this movement always remained alive; it has come back; it plays a bigger role now than before. Something always remains.

[De Moor] Is it possible to cooperate within the Warsaw Pact with Romania, a member which called on the others to intervene militarily in Poland the moment a noncommunist government was formed?

[Skubiszewski] That creates problems. But there is no special cooperation between Poland and Romania—not political, and even less military. We trade with each other, but that is a different matter.

[De Moor] Do you believe that the EC must press on with its current project, the 1992 single market, and that it must not be too distracted by what is happening now in Central Europe? That would be a way of preventing the FRG from breaking away. Would that be a satisfactory solution for you?

[Skubiszewski] That is of course a question for the EC. But if you want to know my view: We want to expand relations with the FRG in such a way that we negotiate with that country as with any Western partner. We want to build a bridge between East and West. In the building of this bridge the FRG plays an important role, not as a country in itself, not as an element of a new great power in central Europe, but as a member of the EC.

Skubiszewski on German Reunification

LD1812185689 Warsaw PAP in English 1649 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 18—PAP has received the following statement from Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski:

In connection with the accusations of foul-play and debasement of the spokesman forwarded against me (TRYBUNA LUDU No. 292 of December 16-17, 1989. From the editor: an article in which Jerzy Urban attacked Minister Skubiszewski for delivering "an excellent and competent lecture instead of a political speech in parliament" on Poland's attitude towards the possible unification of Germany, and for involving the Foreign Ministry spokesman, a former colleague of Urban, into the affair), I state the following:

The text which appeared as a letter of the Foreign Ministry spokesman (TRYBUNA LUDU No. 286 of December 9-10, 1989, p. 10), was conceived by me as an explanation of the ministry, in other words as a text directly engaging the head of the ministry. Before it was published, I did not know that the press spokesman would write the text in the form of his letter to the paper. I was also not aware of the last sentence of the published text. Despite of what the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] organ writes, no one ordered the spokesman to sign anything.

Hence, the accusations levelled against me in the PUWP CC organ are groundless and false. They are nonetheless serious enough and were forwarded in such a manner, that I await of the editor-in-chief to withdraw these accusations and apologize for publishing them.

Rakowski Interviewed on German Reunification

PM1912095289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 15 Dec 89 p 14

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party first secretary, by Andrea Tarquini in Rome on 13 December]

[Text] Rome—"Wiedervereinigung—German reunification? For over 10 years I argued that it was inevitable; my friends in Bonn did not believe me when I said a year ago that the Wall would soon fall. They called me crazy, but now they owe me the bottles of Moselle wine that we wagered..." It was a rainy morning as I listened to Mieczyslaw Rakowski in the lobby of Rome's Plaza hotel. The Polish United Workers Party leader was in Rome (he leaves again today) as a guest of the Italian Socialist Party. But we wanted to hear his opinion on the German question: Few people in the former Soviet empire have made such a thorough study of Germany.

[Tarquini] Dr Rakowski, would a reunified Germany pose a threat to Europe?

[Rakowski] I would separate the borders issue from that of reunification. The borders issue worries both West and East: Both Washington and Moscow have said that the borders resulting from World War II cannot be altered. This concerns, first and foremost, the German-Polish border along the Oder-Neisse line. Bonn is not being very precise on this point. However, it must be clearly stated that in a country of 80 million inhabitants (as a united Germany would be) if somebody requests a revision of the borders—even if the government does not support or initiate such stances—it will create uncertainties and suspicions throughout the Polish nation. After 40 years of stability, there could be a resurgence of national security problems.

[Tarquini] What about the West's fears?

[Rakowski] For 40 years the West said "yes" to reunification, which seemed impossible, so the USSR could be put in a corner as the only country opposed to "Wiedervereinigung." Now Bush is talking about reunification as a "matter for the future" and everyone is talking about "the occupying powers' rights." The West, too, is saying: "Beware, reunification could deal the death blow to Gorbachev's perestroyka."

[Tarquini] And yet you consider reunification inevitable...

[Rakowski] I believe that the pressure for Wiedervereinigung is stronger in the GDR. As you know, yesterday [Italian Foreign Minister] De Michelis rightly stressed the need for politics to stay ahead of the masses' demands. But what is stronger now: politics or the pressure from the masses? On 2 November we received Krenz in Warsaw and I asked him: "What will you do when 100,000 people go into the streets to demand your resignation?" Well, a week later the Wall fell and now the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is headed not by Krenz but by Gysi. I consider unity possible within the coming decade.

[Tarquini] Could reunification help the East's stability or threaten it?

[Rakowski] Let us proceed from the fact of a reunification that is possible and probable in this last decade of the century and consider it within the context of the revolutionary changes under way throughout Eastern Europe. I still remember 7 October, the GDR's national day: We Polish communists were there, alongside Gorbachev and Honecker, the boys of the communist youth organization were marching by, as they did every year, but for the first time they had only one cry: "Gorby, help us!" Not a word or a greeting for Honecker, and at the reception that evening all he could talk to us about was progress in the robot industry... Those changes are affecting the GDR together with the rest of the Warsaw Pact. In the future a reunified Germany with 80 million inhabitants—the future third or fourth world power—should prompt us to reappraise the existing European institutions, the EEC or NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which is already shaken by internal conflicts which are perhaps—and I stress, perhaps—only the beginning. We are approaching problems connected—albeit only in part—with the German question.

[Tarquini] However, Germany is already the prime trade partner of all the Pact countries. Could a stronger Germany not help the reforms?

[Rakowski] Of course, economic cooperation with Germany could be a major help to the economies undergoing reform. In the economic sphere, however, reunification could revive or exacerbate various forms of nationalism in a central Europe where economic reform, by worsening living conditions, could create dissatisfactions that the nationalist forces could exploit. Furthermore, political reform is rebuilding the international relations that existed between the wars, with all that this entails, including the most intense forms of nationalism which are emerging from Lithuania to the Ukraine, from the Baltic to the Caucasus and Yugoslavia. Various demons could be reawakened; we are entering a period of major upheavals.

[Tarquini] Do you have confidence in Germany's politicians?

[Rakowski] The political scene in Bonn is not occupied solely by statesmen such as Genscher, so I have no answers. I wonder how long FRG politicians will honor the promise to set Europe's interests above their own.

[Tarquini] Does the same not apply to the GDR leaders, exposed to pressure from the people, who are demanding reunification, among other things?

[Rakowski] Who knows? The leadership changes in the GDR could be seen as the end of a crisis period or as a temporary solution. How are GDR politicians to respond if banners demanding reunification are to be seen on every building and at every rally? I am pleasantly surprised by the political wisdom of the GDR opposition, which wants, first, to bring about changes in the state in which it lives. But how should they respond if some day the People's Assembly is dominated by a majority wanting reunification? How will the USSR and the western powers reply to that response? And yet experience prompts me to think in the long term, avoiding too much pessimism.

FRG Foundation Head on Polish-German Relations

AU1812122989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 89 pp 1,7

[Report on interview with Bernhard Vogel, head of the FRG Konrad Adenauer Foundation, by Wlodzimierz Korzycki in Warsaw; date not given: "We Want a United Europe"]

[Text] The offices of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation have been open for several weeks in Warsaw now. The official opening took place during the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation has offices in over 100 countries, and its Warsaw office is the first such office in Eastern Europe. We interviewed Doctor Bernhard Vogel, chairman of the foundation and past premier of the Rhine Palatinate, who is also a leading activist in the Christian Democratic Union of Germany.

[Korzycki] Why did you decide to open an office in Warsaw?

[Vogel] In no other country of the Warsaw Pact is our relationship as important as it is with Poland. It is historically charged and very important. According to Konrad Adenauer, the first FRG chancellor, our particular task was to offer help in order to overcome the past, and jointly shape the future. After he became chancellor, Adenauer named three countries, namely, France, Israel and Poland, with whom we had to try especially hard to break down the legacy of the past. We have succeeded in doing so with France. The Franco-German friendship is one of the pillars of our foreign relations. As regards Israel, we are set on a good course. As regards our relations with Poland, the visit of Chancellor Kohl has opened up new possibilities. That is the reason why I am so glad that the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has taken its very first step in East Europe, and that step is in Warsaw.

count on the full support and understanding of Italy and of Western Europe in general. This avalanche process of enormous change is difficult to control, but there is no doubt that it is in the interest of everyone to proceed in a stable and not a destabilizing manner, in a manner that maintains rather than disrupts the balance in Europe and—this is important—in a way that promotes the peaceful continuation of the revolutionary changes that are taking place in our part of Europe.

[Morawski] Thank you.

Rakowski on Italian Visit, Future of Europe

LD1512225589 Warsaw PAP in English
2139 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, Dec 15—At the end of his three-day visit to Rome, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told PAP that all his interlocutors had pointed to the importance of Poland and changes taking place in Poland for European cooperation and peace on this continent.

Rakowski also accentuated their declarations of the readiness to lend assistance to Poland.

He placed a special emphasis on his talks with President Francesco Cossiga.

Rakowski said that the future of left-wing forces in Eastern Europe likewise featured prominently in his talks here. Interlocutors, especially from Italian left-wing parties, voiced anxiety that right-wing tendencies may be increasing in eastern Europe.

New U.S. European Policy Noted

AU1912133689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 14 Dec 89 p 5

[Maksymilian Berezowski commentary: "It is Europe After All"]

[Text] Until recently, it was fashionable to state that given the economic, political, and strategic reasons the United States was turning its back on Europe to face the Pacific arena, where over the last few years economic progress and development has been astounding.

Today, we can state that this order of American priorities has de facto been abandoned. The following, are the facts which have caused this reappraisal in American thinking:

First, the series of unexpected and fundamental changes in central and Eastern Europe—changes that carry much more than regional implications.

Second, the political explosion in the GDR, the breach in the Berlin Wall, and the hasty reunification proposals of Chancellor Kohl have mobilized the United States to act in order to safeguard its place in Europe and NATO—places which are crucial to its presence on the other side of the Atlantic.

Third, the United States is in agreement—formerly impossible to attain—with the Soviet Union, who, like the United States, is interested in stabilizing Europe, and in keeping the present strategic balance.

Fourth, the speed of the transformations in the EEC—set against the background of these events—will make the Common Market a particularly important partner in the eyes of President Bush's administration.

According to Jim Hogan, an American publicist, President Bush now appears to share President Mitterrand's view that the "German drive toward unity" will be best slowed down by a strengthening of the EEC. Moreover, and running directly counter to the hitherto official view, the United States perceives a possibility of increasing its investments in Western Europe and developing closer trade relations with the EEC. This is all the more important, because the American balance of trade with the Common Market is improving at a greater rate than its balance of trade with the Pacific basin, which produces a chronic deficit.

A recent article in the WASHINGTON POST, entitled "Will America be pushed onto the sidelines?" is significant in its implications. The author of the article, David Ignatius, calls for an active American economic policy toward a reformed central and Eastern Europe. American involvement in Poland and Hungary—he writes—is not just an act of American altruism, but should be action designed to further American interests. It would be madness not to compete for these markets, merely because the countries of the EEC are preparing to go in. To support his own thesis he cites Felix Rohatyn, a New York banker, who has said: "By investing in Eastern Europe we will further our own interests."

A contributory impulse to the United State's new European policy is America's changed outlook on the Third World. After the Malta summit it would appear that both superpowers are more than willing to lessen their burdens and obligations in the Third World. Spheres of influence have become sources of conflicts and tensions.

Of course, in its global vision, the United States does not neglect the key role it plays in regions such as East Asia. Relations with Japan may infuriate some Washington politicians, but these relations are of inestimable value. As regards China, the unexpected visit to Beijing of two high-ranking administration officials, namely, the presidential adviser General Scowcroft, and Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger—despite the rapid chill in relations after the massacre in Tiananmen Square—speaks for itself.

In politics memory tends to be short. But one has to remember that a few months ago one spoke sarcastically of a Eurosclerosis, today, however, things are different.

Rakowski Receives Australian Officials 11 Dec

*LD1112215389 Warsaw PAP in English
1412 GMT 11 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11,—PUWP CC [Polish United workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski today received John Besemeres, an advisor to Australia's prime minister on East European affairs.

The two officials discussed the social, political and economic situation in Poland, the transformations taking place in Eastern Europe and the prospects of building a common European home.

The meeting was attended by Australia's Ambassador to Poland Lawry W. Herron.

Australia's Evans Arrives for Visit 17 Dec

*LD1812035289 Warsaw PAP in English
2148 GMT 17 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 17—Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Gareth J. Evans arrived in Poland today. He was among foreign ministers who had taken part in a meeting in Brussels devoted to economic assistance for Poland and Hungary.

Today Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister Gareth J. Evans chaired Polish-Australian plenary talks. They assessed the state of bilateral relations in various spheres and considered possibilities for development of cooperation in trade, industry, finance, technology and science.

Skubiszewski briefed Evans on the programme of reforms aimed at healing Polish economy. In this context the two talked about Australian capital's share in investments in Poland and about Australia's participation in the international programme for economic assistance for Poland.

Considered were questions of both countries' cooperation in international financial and economic institutions, especially in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Taxes GATT.

The two ministers discussed assumptions of agreements on mutual support and protection of investments and on avoiding double taxation to be signed next year.

The sides also exchanged views on a future consular convention between Poland and the Commonwealth of Australia.

Gareth Evans told a press conference that Australia wants to have its share in assistance for the Polish nation and Polish economy in its present difficulties. He briefed journalists on the Australian package of assistance. Australia's government assigned five million Australian dollars (3.5 million U.S. dollars) for food assistance for Poland and 200 million dollars for trade credits.

Minister Evans voiced no doubts that the Australian business will seek conditions for investing in Poland. It will not be done at once. It will require time and depend to a large extent on improvement of the internal situation in Poland.

Also today the guest from Australia toured the old city here. He laid flowers at the monuments of Nike, Warsaw Uprising, to Ghetto heroes and at Umschalgplatz. He also laid flowers at Father Jerzy Popieluszko's grave.

PZPR's Miller Comments on Walesa's Proposal

*AU1912155789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 14 Dec 89 p 1*

[Anna Pawlowska report: "Leszek Miller for TRYBUNA LUDU: The Limits of Certain Government Powers"]

[Text] Following numerous questions from our readers raised by Lech Walesa's statement on the subject of special powers for the government, we have asked Leszek Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], to give a statement.

[Miller] I admit it is difficult to say anything, because I do not know the stance of the government which is supposed to accept these proposals. Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government spokesman, has not presented any government stance either.

I agree with Lech Walesa that the Sejm's deliberations are prolonging the legislative process and postponing the possibility of the economy's functioning solely according to economic laws. PZPR deputies have pointed this out many times, saying that economic matters, which really cannot be delayed, ought to be dealt with before anything else. However, the Sejm's work so far has been devoted mainly to other matters. For example, look how much time the Sejm spent on the amnesty.

I realize that Premier Mazowiecki's government is in a very difficult situation. Essential economic reforms require moves that are socially drastic; general sacrifices and a tightening of the belt. Our party has always said so. I do not wish to repeat what the former opposition used to say in reply, but it used to accuse us of lying, and insisted that economic objectives may be achieved without social costs. However, our party has always said that the burden of the reform must be spread equally among everyone, and that it is the state's duty to provide social security to those in the weakest situation. As we have already indicated, Deputy Premier Balcerowicz's program does not offer this protection.

It is not the idea of special government powers that is surprising. After all, the Zbigniew Messner and Mieczyslaw Rakowski governments also used such powers, despite what the opposition said. As far as banking and taxation are concerned, these proposals might even be rational. What is surprising is the extent and nature of the proposed powers. Unlike the emergency powers of the previous governments, the presently-proposed powers are not restricted to the economy. Lech Walesa talks about changing the accounting system, system of ownership, state structures, and territorial self-government bodies all in the same breath. This would mean behaving like a dictator and depriving parliament and society of influence over the reforms, which are of fundamental importance for Poland and the Poles.

We have never avoided and still do not avoid joint participation in reaching difficult and painful decisions, if they are necessary. However, two conditions must be fulfilled—society must approve of these decisions, and the parliamentary procedures, which we have not secured without trouble, must be preserved. Our party renders the Mazowiecki government support in every reformist activity which conforms to the "roundtable" accords and is aimed at improving the economic situation, enhancing national accord, and expanding democracy. I think every genuinely democratic force will think likewise.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 5-11 Dec

AU1912223489

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 6 through 12 December reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each item in parentheses):

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member, held talks with Finnish minister Ilkka Kanerva in Warsaw on 5 December. (6 Dec 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member, received a Yugoslavian party delegation from Belgrade headed by Rados Smiljkovic on 9 December. (11 Dec 89 p 2)

Marek Krol, PZPR Central Committee secretary, visited Kalisz on 8 December. (9-10 Dec 89 p 2)

Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, received outgoing Austrian ambassador Andreas Somogyi in Warsaw on 7 December. (8 Dec 89 p 2)

Ceausescu Makes 'No Mention' of Unrest

LD1912193889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1530 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Excerpt] According to the Romanian leader, the situation in his country is stable and the economy is developing in a balanced way. Nicolae Ceausescu, who is in Iran, made no mention at all of the unrest.

The Romanian television news, which we recorded at 1800 [1700 GMT], made no mention of what had happened in Timisoara. Following a pictorial report of Ceausescu's visit to Tehran, the news reader gave a 6-minute account, going into minute details, of Ceausescu's program in Iran. [passage omitted]

Party Paper Urges Respect for Enforcement of Laws

AU1912165089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 19 Dec 89

["The Laws of the Country—Consistently Respected, Firmly Applied"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 19/12/1989—In a commentary under the above title newspaper "SCINTEIA" writes in its 19 December issue:

In Romanian society, a society of work, honesty and lawfulness, all economic and social fields are regulated by laws. They regulate the country's unitary development, the strengthening of revolutionary worker democracy, the full equality of all citizens, and the norms of civil behaviour in society. The consistent promotion of the rule of law in the Romanian judicial system, firmly applied after the Ninth Party Congress, warrants the exercise of the will of the entire people, of its basic interests, of the ensurance of order and social discipline, barring which the country's progress, a normal course of economic and social life, the citizens' protection against any abuse or infringement of the constitutional rights and freedoms would be impossible.

These are fundamental truths that President Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly emphasised. The RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary underlined in the report to the 14th Congress: "We must take action so that nobody should be wrongly punished, but also that no one can evade one's responsibility before the people, the laws of the country for having broken the law, for betraying the interests of the country, the interests of socialism, the independence and sovereignty of the homeland."

That is why the spirit as well as the letter of the law must be applied in every field and in every circumstance, lawfulness must be ensured to the full, which is what is in line with what the vast majority of the citizens of the homeland think and do, being vitally interested that the legal act takes full effect, that legality is strengthened.

In Romanian society, on the basis of its legal system, of the Romanian people's idea of justice, righteousness and equity, one cannot violate the laws and the judicial rulings without facing the consequences of one's acts. Those who resist or refuse to comply with a judicial ruling that remained final commit a serious offence against society, and attack its political and legal basis. That is why under no circumstance can the socialist state, Romanian society, just like any other society, tolerate such a serious breach of their interests, of the constitutional provisions, administering the law through its organs that are entitled to take all the measures that are necessary to restore legality, the rule of law that was violated.

It is the obligation of justice, all state bodies and organisms with attributions related to the observance of the laws and of judicial rulings to hold anyone who has committed such an offence responsible for it.

The laws of Romania express the will and interests of all people, they serve the country's prosperity, the welfare of the working people, they ensure the free assertion of their aptitudes and capacity in the political, economic and sociocultural life. All these realities are the basis for a new attitude to the law of working people, for their high sense of civil responsibility and duty to the socialist society, to the homeland they live and work in. That is why, along with the judicial bodies, with the other state bodies that are called to ensure the firm respect for the laws of the country, the masses of citizens permanently take part, out of a deep conviction, in the observance of order in Romanian society, in the unfaltering promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of revolutionary worker democracy, firmly condemning any deviation from the principle of the consistent defence of legality, any disregard of the laws and of judicial rulings.

NATO Condemns Government Actions

AU2012140089 Paris AFP in English 1309 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Brussels, Dec 20 (AFP)—The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) on Wednesday blasted Romania's "use of massive brutal force" to suppress demonstrations.

"The allies express their dismay at the serious loss of life which resulted in this action," the 16-nation organisation said.

"The protests which have taken place in Timisoara and elsewhere are an obvious manifestation of broad popular disconent with the policies of the government," the statement said.

NATO accused Romania of a "systematic denial of basic human rights" under the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, to which the government of Nicolae Ceausescu was a signatory.

"The allies condemn the attempt of the Romanian Government to suppress the aspirations of its people towards freedom and call upon it to cease its resort to

Eyewitness Account From Timisoara

AU2012101389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Romania Obviously Under Martial Law"]

[Excerpts] Munich—After the massacre in Timisoara, Romania seems to be practically under martial law. During the night to Tuesday [19 December] shots were repeatedly heard again in this town in western Romania. This was reported by Hungarian radio, quoting Hungarian and Yugoslav travelers who had stayed in Timisoara over the past few days. [passage omitted]

After a telephone conversation with friends in Timisoara, Peter Krier, Bavarian chairman of the Banat Swabians Organization,confirmed the reports about shooting in the town. Demonstrators reportedly stormed an arms depot, armed themselves, and captured a tank. In the streets a great number of grenades exploded. The hospitals are overcrowded, injured people are lying in the corridors and the halls. In the telephone conversation the informant confirmed rumors about a high number of dead, which is still increasing because of the continuing shooting. Demonstrations have reportedly also taken place in the towns of Curtici, Constanta, and Brasov; these demonstrations were, however, peaceful. Arad is reportedly calm again. Rumors that the protests have spread to Cluj in Transylvania could not be confirmed. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav Consulate Said Occupied

LD2012134989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] In Timisoara, the riot police have occupied the Yugoslav main consulate, where many people fled from the shootings and arrests. The Romanian police wanted to take away precisely these people who had fled to the consulate. According to a statement from the Yugoslav consul, the soldiers [as heard] violated the international agreements pertaining to the inviolability of diplomatic representations, without any particular concern.

'Hundreds' Dead in Timisoara

LD1912023789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0132 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Vatim, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—Several hundreds of people have died in clashes between Army and demonstrators in the Romanian town of Timisoara over the past few days—assert some of the few eyewitnesses who crossed at the border locality of Vatin into Yugoslavia on Monday.

Several Greeks, on studies of medicine in Timisoara, told TANJUG's reporter in Vatin on Monday that they had seen earlier today in Timisoara's central hospital a number of dead and a large number of wounded by firearms. The students asserted that it was peaceful in Timisoara today, but troops and armoured cars were patrolling the streets.

The eyewitnesses said shop windows in central Timisoara were broken, while a few shops and city transport vehicles were burned down. They added that several thousand protesters shouted slogans seeking greater freedoms and calling state and party chief Nicolae Ceausescu to step down.

In Timisoara, demonstrations broke out when the authorities forced the minister Laszlo Tokes out of his apartment; a man who had placed certain demands with respect to the position of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

On Monday, the Romanian authorities closed all border crossings on Yugoslavia following clashes which began three days earlier between troops and demonstrators in Timisoara, Arad and some other towns.

The Romanian authorities allowed only the transit passengers and holders of official passports to cross at Vatin (not far from the Yugoslav town of Vrsac) until Monday evening, and the situation has been similar at other crossings, according to the Yugoslav border organs.

Travelers Describe Situation

LD2012124789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] A Romanian refugee has managed to get across the border at Battonya. He confirmed the news about a massacre at Timisoara. Eva Cseh reports:

[Cseh] In recent days, hardly any refugees have arrived from Romania over the green border, but a young man managed to get across at Battonya during the night. He confirmed the news about Timisoara to date. He saw with his own eyes the dead bodies lying in the street.

Lieutenant Colonel Gyorgy Balint, group leader of the Oroshaza border district, said that Romanian aircraft have not been sweeping along our homeland's borders since yesterday. However, inhabitants of Magyarcsanad heard the sound of shots.

More and more towns are being surrounded by the military, for the authorities fear a student rebellion.

The group leader also said that there are people who managed to get across the border. From yesterday evening to dawn this morning, only 12 out of 44 Hungarian citizens were sent back by the Romanians. Out of 900 foreigners who tried, 660 were able to get out into Romania. However, 40 Romanians were taken off the morning Orient Express and turned back to their homeland.

The Bekes County paper NEP UJSAG gives the account of an eyewitness, a man from Kevermes. He arrived from Arad yesterday evening. According to his account, in Arad three tanks are standing to the left and right of the tram lines by the railway stations. Every 15 meters there are armed soldiers and policemen who form a chain.

Arriving in Curtici, the man from Kevermes, who was the only Hungarian in the set of cars, saw a burned out car. At the border, the Romanian customs officer searched him and warned him never to set foot on Romanian territory again.

Austrian Recounts Shootings

AU2012141689 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today, a group of members of the Styrian OeVP [Austrian People's Party] returned from a trip to Romania, where they also visited Timisoara and Arad. The organizer of the visit, which was to distribute relief goods such as foods and medicines is Helmut Wolf. He was an eyewitness to the bloody events in Timisoara. Michael Kerbler conducted the following interview with him:

[Kerbler] Mr Wolf, you have just returned from Timisoara. You were personally involved in the events of this weekend. What happened?

[Wolf] All streets were closed, and there were fires in the background. We stood there and the people shouted out the words libertate and peace. These were the most obvious words that we were able to understand.

[Kerbler] This means freedom and peace, does it not?

[Wolf] Yes, it means freedom and peace. The other slogans, for which we had to rely on translations, were as follows: Down with Ceausescu; away with Ceausescu; you pigs, why are you shooting at us; we are Romanians as well, so why are you shooting at us? The soldiers responded with the words stop! stay where you are! danger! Suddenly we heard a shot, or several shots some 30 meters away. About two meters away from where I stood, a man fell to the ground. I did not see it properly, because a child that was hurt was being taken away. This man was lying on the tram track. I went up to him, together with two or three Romanians. We drew him away from the zone of fire—this is why there are bloodstains on my jeans. He was wounded in the head and was losing a lot of blood. We turned him on his side and provided first aid as best we could. Subsequently, we proceeded to the market square of Timisoara, to the main square between the opera and the orthodox church. A whole row of houses was on fire there. Some 8,000-10,000 people were in the square, of which approximately 200-300 were actively involved in the protests, whereas the others just stood there and watched. The militia had not yet intervened there. We did not see a single soldier. All the shop windows were smashed, looted, and Ceausescu's books were taken out of book stores and burned in the square.

During the night we heard heavy machine gun fire. We were certainly well guarded by Securitate, because the leading bodies of Securitate were flown in during the night from Friday to Saturday [16-17 December], and I believe that they rigorously took things into their hands.

[Kerbler] Does this mean that the high-level commanders of the intelligence service came from Bucharest to Timisoara to carry out the orders?

[Wolf] Yes, that is true.

[Kerbler] According to the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, some 2,000 people were reportedly killed in what one must call massacres in Timisoara and the neighboring area. Do you have any information as to how many people were affected by this massacre?

[Wolf] We talked to several eyewitnesses, not only in Timisoara but also in other cities and villages in the area. They all put the figure at more than 1,000.

[Kerbler] Did you have the impression that the soldiers hesitated before they turned against the crowds, or was there no hesitation before they started to shoot?

[Wolf] I think they did hesitate. When I think of the first night, the night from Saturday to Sunday, when we heard about the incidents for the first time, the situation was not yet clear. Then the soldiers were clearly still firing into the air. On Sunday we had somebody translate a statement for us that we heard and that ran as follows: You are Moldavians, you are also Romanians. Why do you shoot at us. On Sunday the actions became brutal. There was no longer any compromise, and the soldiers marched straight through.

[Kerbler] Armed forces have now surrounded the city. Did you not have any problems returning to Austria? Did you meet great difficulties or did you have to go through many military checkpoints? In what condition did you leave the city of Timisoara?

[Wolf] The center of Timisoara, the main square in front of the opera, is now in ruins, that is to say all the shops are. There are tanks at all exit roads and there are passport controls for all cars. Nevertheless, we had no problem getting through these controls after we had had our passports checked, but we had to undergo seven or eight other checks within the country. I would like to add that we continued toward the south where people told us that even in the country the workers' militia were armed—although there were not any protests—because there was fear that bread factories or other installations might be stormed, and assemblies of more than three or four people were being immediately dispersed.

Demonstrations Said To Continue

AU1912203189 Paris AFP in English 1950 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Vatin, Yugoslavia, Dec 19 (AFP)—Witnesses who crossed over into Yugoslavia said Tuesday [19 December] that several protest demonstrations took repressive measures and to allow its citizens freely to exercise their fundamental human rights," the statement added.

Japanese Diplomats Witness 'Severe Disruption'

OW2012140389 Tokyo KYODO in English 1335 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, Dec 20 KYODO—Japanese diplomats in Romania on Tuesday visited the site of a reported military massacre of civilians but were expelled by Romanian security forces, Foreign Ministry officials said Wednesday.

The officials were speaking after Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu condemned the reported assault on civilians over the weekend and the Foreign Ministry summoned the Romanian ambassador in Tokyo for an explanation.

Officials said two diplomats drove to Timisoara, a city in the Transylvanian region of Romania, to investigate reports that hundreds of protesting citizens were mowed down there by Romanian security forces.

The diplomats, successfully evading checkpoints set up on the approaches to Timisoara, entered the tightly guarded city just before midnight, finding it in pitch darkness, officials said.

They observed an estimated one thousand armed security forces posted in strategic locations and around government buildings.

Manned machine gun embankments were seen on most street corners and up to 20 armored vehicles were observed in the city square, officials said.

While no bodies were seen, the diplomats saw ample evidence that a severe disruption had taken place in the city center, officials said.

Shop windows were smashed and concrete litter boxes were overturned, apparently by demonstrators in an effort to get blocks of concrete to use as weapons, officials said.

"They tried to stay at a hotel in the city, but police would not allow the hotel management to accept them and they were escorted outside the city limits," said one official.

Officials indicated that Japan has not ruled out the option of recalling its ambassador in Bucharest.

Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, speaking earlier in the day, expressed Japan's "grave concern" over the events in Romania.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Ministry called the reported massacre "a tragedy" and summoned Romanian Ambassador Constantin Vlad to the ministry for an explanation.

In an icy meeting with Takehiro Togo, director general of the ministry's European and Oceanic Affairs Bureau, officials said Vlad protested the summons as "unjustified" and expressed Romania's "surprise" over Japan's concern.

In criticizing Japan's intervention in the human rights situation in his country, Vlad said such matters where Romania is concerned are an internal affair.

Officials said he was referring to several condemnations Japan has made in a committee of the United Nations General Assembly, the last on November 27.

The Romanian envoy added that he has no intention of explaining anything "under these conditions," a reference to his summons.

Prior to the meeting, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Taizo Watanabe issued a statement expressing "deep concern" over the "tragedy" that occurred in Romania.

The statement said that despite democratic reforms taking place at a rapid pace elsewhere in Eastern Europe, "the despotism over the people is still continuing in Romania."

Moscow Radio Reports Unrest in Romania

AU2012125789 Moscow Radio in Romanian to Romania 1700 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Since Friday, a number of Romanian cities have been faced with disturbances. The country's mass media remain silent in this respect.

The events, which are taking place in the north-western part of Romania, can be judged only on the basis of statements made by a few foreign eyewitnesses, who arrived in Yugoslavia and Hungary.

According to their accounts, the disturbances began when representatives of the security forces took the priest of the Reformed Church, Laszlo Tokes, from his home in Timisoara.

Judging by the information provided by eyewitnesses, the demonstrations in Timisoara, Arad, Oradea, and Brasov turned into actions of a political nature.

According to reports by press agencies, a tense atmosphere prevails in Romania. It started after the clashes of the militiamen and soldiers with demonstrators in Timisoara.

The Yugoslav agency TANJUG reports that hundreds of people were killed and injured.

Romania has closed its borders with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and the USSR.

An abnormal situation has been created at border points.

The events in Romania have caused concern in other countries.

In Berlin, the participants in the roundtable negotiations—representing all political forces in the GDR—have asked the Romanian Government to stop repressions.

The Polish Sejm protested against Romania's violation of human rights.

The Hungarian Parliament called on the Romanian Government to observe the commitments assumed within the framework of international accords.

During his visit to Brussels—answering questions of the REUTER Agency in connection with how he views the events in Romania—USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze said he has only preliminary information. "I cannot say if indeed people died there; however, I want to express my profound regret," he said.

The Bulgarian authorities are trying to normalize the situation in the Ruse-Giurgiu area, at the border with Romania. This is in response to the measures taken by the Romanian authorities. On Monday in Giurgiu 60 Polish and 60 Bulgarian tourists were put into freight cars and transported back to Bulgarian territory. Romanian border guards manhandled a Polish and Bulgarian woman, BTA Agency reported.

Three U.S. Citizens Reportedly Missing

LD2012121789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Csaba Farago, who is taking part in an action in front of the Romanian Embassy, phoned a few minutes ago, and he guarantees the reliability of the following information:

[Begin Farago recording] According to information I have received from Timisoara, the people have obtained weapons and ammunition, and they will not give up the fight as long as they still have a drop of blood in their body, and they are asking for the assistance from entire world.

The other bit of news I have to report is that on Tuesday, 19 December, three U.S. citizens left the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest for Timisoara, in order to observe the situation there, but as of today at 0900 this morning they have not arrived there, nor have they returned to Bucharest. [end recording]

Foreign Observers Protest Situation

AU1912200989 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Mathias Pongracz report]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the Bulgarian capital of Sofia, a protest demonstration against Romania's actions took place. In the Polish Parliament, the parliamentarians held a minute's silence for the victims of terror. In Vienna, a demonstration took place in front of the Romanian Embassy. The charge d'affaires, who was called by Foreign Minister Mock to the Foreign Ministry, refused to come. He was said to be sick.

Former Monarch Appeals for Democracy

AU1912113189 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 19 (AFP)—The former King Michael of Romania, who abdicated under communist pressure, on Tuesday [December 19] appealed for a return to democracy in Romania and said that if his people asked him to come back, he was ready. "Let democracy be reinstated in Romania, with free elections so that everyone can express his opinion, because human rights there are non-existent. My aim is to free my country, I put myself in second place", the 68-year-old ex-monarch said in an interview with the French television channel Antenne 2.

"If Romanians ask me to return, I am always ready to resume my constitutional responsibilities", he added.

"I am not optimistic in the short term about the fall of the regime because of the repression and the secret police, who are everywhere, but certainly in the long term, because it cannot last forever."

King Michael reigned from 1940 to 1947 before being toppled by the communists. He lives in exile in Switzerland.

Further on Unrest in Timisoara, Other Areas

Timisoara 'Quiet'

AU1912132489 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Gabor Kiszely report from Hungary]

[Excerpts] The situation in the besieged town of Timisoara is largely quiet. In the early morning hours, shots could be heard. However, this does not mean fighting; it is the continuation of the search for people, started by the security authorities the day before yesterday [17 December] following the demonstration which was forcibly dispersed by the Army and the security service, Securitate. [passage omitted] The Hungarian Parliament in a resolution yesterday [18 December] protested the events and demanded the implementation of human rights in Romania. In the evening, a mass rally was held in Budapest, and a silent march took place in front of the Romanian Embassy.

Of course, there are still no reactions from Romania. What we have heard, however, is that meanwhile, the Romanian side has closed the border with the Soviet Union this morning [19 December].

place at factories that same day in the troubled western Romanian city of Timisoara, and shots were heard.

Three Greek students who were in Timisoara until 1700 GMT on Tuesday said that the protest action was staged notably at the Elba electrical works in Timisoara, a city of some 300,000.

Hundreds of people are reported to have been killed in Timisoara on the weekend when troops moved in to crush an anti-government demonstration.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug had also reported Tuesday that shots had been heard during the day in the city now patrolled by troops backed by tanks.

The students said that hospitals where casualties were taken after the clashes were guarded by armored vehicles and armed soldiers who blocked the entrance.

One of the students, who repeated an unconfirmed earlier report of 1,000 dead, said that an Iranian was among those who perished. "They gave me his jacket covered with blood," the student said.

Greek Students Report on Deaths

LD1912194689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1656 GMT 19 Dec 89

[By Stanko Sajtinac]

[Text] Vatin, Kaludjerevo, December 19 (TANJUG)—According to rumours in Timisoara, hundreds of demonstrators may have been killed in recent demonstrations in this Romanian city near the Yugoslav-Romanian border, eyewitnesses who crossed the border on Tuesday [19 December] claim.

A group of Greek medical students on their way home for the Christmas holidays say they were at a Timisoara hospital when the wounded began arriving following Sunday [17 December] evening's clashes between demonstrators and troops. The students who helped bandage the wounded claim that many had wounds from firearms. One of the students, who preferred to remain anonymous, claims he also saw in the hospital a number of dead, including a women run over by a tank.

Another Greek student who watched the clash claims to have seen about a dozen bodies in the street and demonstrators who surrounded the People's Council building in the city centre, shouting slogans against Romanian state and party leader Ceausescu and demanding "freedom and bread."

According to Greek students, shooting in Timisoara was heard late into the night on Sunday.

The students and a Polish family who passed through Timisoara on their way to Yugoslavia say that the city was calm yesterday, but that troops and armoured vehicles could be seen patrolling the streets.

Amored Vehicles Fire on Crowds

AU2012084689 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] [Moderator] More and more details are being disclosed about the real atrocities committed by the police. A Romanian citizen who was an eyewitness to the unrest in Timisoara reported on the situation yesterday [19 December] in Graz:

[Begin recording] On Sunday, at about two o'clock, one could see the first soldiers advancing against demonstrators. Their objective was to block several bridges against these people. After the fury of the people had increased and thousands had gathered, armored vehicles were used. After the armored vehicles had driven toward the center, where there were allegedly severe clashes between the authorities and the population, amphibious vehicles appeared. In order to frighten the people they headed straight at the crowds at top speed. Because the crowd consisted mostly of young people, they could jump aside in good time. Unfortunately there were also several old people who were there by chance, and who were no longer so agile. I saw with my own eyes how an elderly woman of about 50 was literally run over, and she really looked flat as a pancake afterwards.

At that instant the crowds became infuriated and tried to somehow stop the vehicles by jumping on them, trying to open the gasoline tanks and to set fire to those vehicles. Unfortunately they failed, because these were armored vehicles. When the soldiers and officers saw that the crowds were not yielding they said that, unfortunately, they were forced to shoot, because they had orders from the top.

After a few seconds they fired straight into the crowds and the first three rows of people fell to the ground. They did not fire any warning shots. People stopped several private cars and the dead and injured were stowed away like goods in the trunks of the cars: three or four with the upper part of their bodies in first, and their feet dangling behind, or two or three in the rear seat. It was terrible.

More Information on Events

AU1912231189 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Telephone interview with Gerald Beckmann, a Romanian who grew up in Austria and is currently in Timisoara, by Elmar Oberhauser; date not given—live]

[Text] [Oberhauser] Good evening, Mr Beckmann.

[Beckmann] Good evening.

[Oberhauser] Mr Beckmann, you have been in Romania since last Saturday. Can you tell us what you have seen there?

[Beckmann] I entered this country at Oradea, which is my birthplace, late last Saturday. I visited my relatives, who asked me to drive to Timisoara afterward because there are real supply problems. I had to make a detour and leave my car in Cluj. I came to Timisoara on hazardous routes. In Timisoara nothing worked.

For reasons which I do not want to specify and which were not known to me, a kind of demonstration took place. The result was that the people were driven together—that is, first by militia forces and then by Armed Forces stationed here. During this action, the Armed Forces, who had apparently received orders to fire, refused to shoot their compatriots. Between Sunday night and Monday morning [17-18 December], other units were transferred from other parts of Romania to this city. There were escalations which resulted in a pogrom.

We listened to—I have a hand-powered radio, to which I can listen for approximately 10 minutes at a time—and Austria's noon journal [Vienna Domestic Service at 1100 GMT]. This is the only connection with the outside world. There is no water, no lights, and no food in the food stores. You do not get anything here. During the escalations shots were heard and helicopters flew across the city. It was complete chaos. As a result, many people were killed. I heard from a reliable source that today an officer and two soldiers were executed. Martial law rules here. The people were shot because they refused to attack their compatriots. The attacks are especially aimed against the Hungarian and German minorities.

[Oberhauser] Mr Beckmann, we have received unconfirmed reports that up to 1,000 people were killed. Can you confirm this?

[Beckmann] I am afraid that this figure is an understatement.

[Oberhauser] What is the current—on Tuesday evening—situation in Timisoara?

[Beckmann] In the afternoon, gun shots were heard every now and then. Now, in the evening, the situation seems to have calmed down somewhat. Some marauding troops—you cannot call them anything else—are roaming the city; the downtown portion of which is completely devastated. I am speaking now on a telephone line—there are two lines in Romania: the normal and official telephone lines. I hardly dare to say that I am sitting in the den's lion—excuse me, in the lion's den, I am so confused, I have not slept for such a long time. I am sitting here and I simply cannot go on. I am calling you on a line of the notorious Securitate. Here the fox has been told to guard the hen house. I am using a line that does not officially exist.

[Oberhauser] Mr Beckmann, do you also know what the situation is in the rest of Romania? Or do you not have any such information?

[Beckmann] We do not have any information of that sort here. We are hermetically cut off from the outside world. There is no way out.

[Oberhauser] What do the people do? Do they hope for help and support from abroad? What can foreign countries do?

[Beckmann] Those who have batteries and similar things—electric power is very rare—watch Yugoslav television and can get impressions on which to reflect. These people ask the outside world to please, help us! Do not permit a genocide (considering the things that happen here.)! Cubic meters of corpses—I cannot put it differently—are taken away on trucks and allegedly destroyed or buried or burnt in mass graves. The opinions differ on this. I am trying to differentiate, but I am not always able to do so.

[Oberhauser] Mr Beckmann, do you believe that the intervention of the Army has crushed this protest or will the people continue to put up resistance?

[Beckmann] At present, apparently—I have this first-hand—the respective minorities are actually persecuted. People are hapharzadly dragged out of their apartments, families are separated. Undescribable things are happening here which are beyond my comprehension. I have never seen such things.

[Oberhauser] Mr Beckmann, thank you for having contacted us and thank you for this report. I hope that you are still on the line despite the whistling sound that I hear now. Please, hold on so that we can arrange further contacts with you or call us—the line has been cut off. This is pointless now.

Tanks Drive Into Timisoara Crowds

AU1912212389 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Report by Brigitte Fuchs]

[Excerpts] There is an increasing number of reports on atrocities in Romania. [passage omitted] A Romanian doctor, who has just returned from the affected area, reports that the tanks drove into the demonstrators on Sunday [17 December]. Soldiers shot at the people without prior warning, wounding and killing the first three rows of people. [passage omitted]

2,000 'Victims' in Timisoara

LD1912222389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2152 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Vrsac, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Romanian town of Timisoara is demolished. In its center, there are no undamaged shops, and factories and institutions are not working. Foreigners who have just arrived from Romania claim that clashes with demonstrators also occured in Arad and in other Romanian towns as well.

In Timisoara itself, according to some travellers, the police are brutally settling accounts with demonstrators, the majority of whom are young people. Unconfirmed information cites that there is a great number of victims, about 2,000 people, both adults and children. Eyewitnesses claim that the police are bringing detained demonstrators to the central square in Timisoara, where they beat and then stab them with bayonets before they throw them into trucks and take them to an unknown destination. Police in town shoot without warning. The clashes with demonstrators are so violent that the army and police, according to travellers from Romania, used bayonets in addition to firearms. Shooting in Timisoara continued today, since police terror did not cause paralysis and fear in citizens, but resolution to continue with resistance.

Marchers Vow 'We Are Ready To Die'

AU2012145889 Paris AFP in English 1446 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Vatin, Yugoslavia, Dec 20 (AFP)—Columns of workers in their tens of thousands marched through the Romanian city of Timisoara on Wednesday [20 December] chanting "we are ready to die," according to Western travellers arriving across the border in Yugoslavia.

According to two Greek students, workers began converging on the town, where the army brutally suppressed anti-government demonstrations over the weekend, at 10.a.m. (0800 GMT) and were still on the streets five hours later.

Security forces, massively deployed on the streets and backed up by tanks, stood by without intervening, they said. The demonstrators were chanting "We are ready to die."

"I saw workers from the Autoturismo factory in the suburbs of Timisoara grab portraits of Ceausescu, tear them up and trample them underfoot before marching on the city centre, crying "Freedom"", an Italian lorry (truck) driver told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. He asked not to be named.

He said that on Tuesday night he had seen armoured vehicles in the industrial zone open fire on demonstrators, who had stopped a tram and were trying to build a roadblock.

"We have heard shooting every afternoon since Sunday", he added.

Other Western travellers said demonstrations were expected later in the day in the other Transylvanian towns of Arad and Cluj, as well as the capital Bucharest.

Timisoara Crowd Obtain Weapons

LD2012094689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Report by news editor Jozsef Herman]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on protests against Ceausescu in Prague and Washington] We are receiving telephone calls for our listeners and we thank you very much for them. It is very important that everyone who has experienced something should give an account. During the night, a boy who was demonstrating at the Romanian Embassy in Budapest visited us. He had met Poles who had arrived from Timisoara, and they reported that there are now attempts to demolish the ruins.

Laszlo Tokes' representative in Hungary said his customary, normal contacts have been broken off. From the sporadic information which comes in, what is known is that there is silence, fear, and deep mourning in Timisoara. By the way, the wife of one of our colleagues, who had been in Arad, said that she had also met with people coming back from Timisoara and they said that the crowd had obtained weapons—either they had taken them from the soldiers, or they had looted a depot. And the town center is contained within a triple military ring.

By the way, there was no demonstration in Arad; however, there too 8-10 member patrols, militiamen, and soldiers are patrolling the streets.

'Thousands' Killed; Plea to Gorbachev

AU2012145289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] The world is shocked and embittered by the events in Romania. The brutal use of force against demonstrators who demanded changes and the departure from power of the Ceausescu regime is being condemned. Because Romania is almost a closed country, the journalists at border crossings are gathering information from the few travellers coming out of Romania. Here is a report by Novi Sad correspondent Milenko Gvozdic:

Here in Vrsac the growing number of domestic and foreign journalist are receiving the only information on events in Romania from the few travelers who are arriving in Yugoslavia. The stories told by the people who came from Romania sound almost unbelievable. Syrian students, who understandably did not want to give their names, told us about an enormous number of casualties. They mentioned several thousand victims.

Tanks were running over people and women with children. Shots were fired from helicopters. The hospital in Timisoara is full of wounded people, but aid is only being offered to soldiers and militiamen. A Romanian woman who lives here and is married to a Yugoslav told us about wounded people being shot. She also told us that her fellow citizens had asked her to convey the truth about the events in Timisoara, which is an almost completely destroyed city in which not one factory is operating.

During the previous 4 days one was able to hear shots from firearms constantly. The woman we spoke to came back from Timisoara this morning on the only passenger train which runs between Bucharest and Belgrade.

We were told that along with the familiar antigovernment slogans shouted by the demonstrators, the demonstrators also chanted: Long live Gorbachev. They also called on him for help.

'State of Alert' Reported in Northern Romania

AU2012131589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] TANJUG's correspondent has unofficially discovered that a state of alert of the highest degree has been imposed on the territory of northern Romania. The Romanian press is still not reporting on the militia shooting at the people. The public is in a state of shock and sharp reaction by the international public to events in Timisoara and Arad is not being reported.

Armed Patrols Observed on Bucharest Streets

AU1912162389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Dragan Petrovic feature on events in Romania]

[Excerpt] There were shootings in the towns of Timisoara and Arad again this morning. These Romanian towns are under a strong siege of the Army, police, and patriotic guards. There is still no official report on demonstrations in which demands were made for the democratization of society, and for Nicolae Ceausescu to step down from power. Here is a report from Bucharest by TANJUG correspondent Petar Tomic:

[Begin Tomic recording] Romania has still not provided an official explanation of events which occurred last weekend in Timisoara and Arad. It still had to be learned unofficially that both these towns are under a siege of strong police forces, patriotic guards, and special units.

There are unconfirmed reports that there has been more shooting since this morning and armed patrols walk Bucharest streets. Four-man patrols, established at the time of 14th Congress at the end of the last month, are now armed with automatic machine guns. They include four patriotic guards whose role corresponds to our territorial defense, as well as members of militia and youth guards. People very calmly watch them walk. It is assumed that these patrols are armed because Bucharest students have allegedly come out in solidarity with young people in Timisoara.

Well-informed circles in Bucharest claim that on Sunday [17 December] evening, when clashes between demonstrators and policemen in Timisoara were at their most violent, militia discovered a tree decorated with pears in Bucharest Grozavesti student dormitories. In order to understand the symbolism of this act one should recall that in one of his most recent speeches, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu said that things in Romania would receive the current desired reaction by circles in the West when pears start growing on poplar tree. This tree decorated with pears was quickly taken away. Two or three militiamen spend almost whole day and night in all student dormitories and in the hall of the institute. These are the scenes one can see almost everywhere. [end recording]

Romania has closed down its borders in order to prevent information on events in Timisoara, Arad, and some other towns of the Romanian part of Banat to leak out into the world. Many Yugoslav and foreign correspondents who wanted to travel to Timisoara or Arad have ended their trip at the Yugoslav-Romanian or Hungarian-Romanian border and have been interviewing few travelers leaving Romania. Eyewitnesses say that they have seen several dead people and a large number of people wounded by firearms in the main Timisoara hospital yesterday. According to the eyewitnesses, it was peaceful in Timisoara yesterday, but armored vehicles and military patrols are in the streets. [passage omitted]

Reinforced Military Patrols

LD1912223289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Report by MTI Bucharest correspondent Otto Koltvanyi]

[Text] Since it is not possible from the Romanian capital to contact Timisoara by telephone and since it is not possible to enter the town which is surrounded by a blockade, here in Bucharest, almost 600 kilometers from the scene of the demonstration, it is extremely difficult to assess what has happened. In the absence of official information even in diplomatic circles—they have only partial information—this much is known: The tragic events have made the situation tense.

The tension can be felt also in Bucharest, in whose streets reinforced military patrols are on duty and checks are being carried out. In spite of this, the life of the capital is relatively calm. The stores, shops, and restaurants are functioning as usual. As always, lines can be seen outside the food shops.

The newspapers are writing nothing about the Timisoara developments. They are so far simply not aware of them. However, one sign that does indicate something is that today's central papers, in articles of a harsh tone, have called on the country's population to consistently observe the laws. SCINTEIA points out that all those who violate the country's laws, the interests of socialism, and who betray the homeland's independence and sovereignty will have to answer for their deeds. The central paper of the Romanian Communist Party also highlights that the judicial decisions must be carried out and that those who do not want to be aware of this are committing a serious offense against society and its political and legal foundations. No one may be permitted to ignore the country's laws, the judicial decisions, point out the articles in other papers, written in a similar tone.

From all this it can be deduced that after the Timisoara events the significance of the observance of the laws has strengthened, as has the solid application of judicial decisions, which unequivically paves the way for the calling to account of the substantive authors and chief participants of the Timisoara events, regardless of the fact that officially, so far, nothing is known at all in connection with the events. According to diplomatic sources, life has returned once more to the town that has lived through dramatic days and which even today awaits its tomorrows as an unapproachable island, betrayed.

Flow of Refugees Into Hungary Halted

LD1912184189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] For 2 days now no refugees have arrived in our country from Romania. According to the Nyirbator border guard district command, since noon on 18 December passenger traffic has been virtually at a standstill along the 160-kilometer stretch of the border under their supervision. Since no refugees have been crossing the border into Hungary by this time it can be concluded that on the Romanian side they have strengthened the border guard, and that they have also completely shut down the so-called green border used by the refugees.

Government 'Officially' Closes Borders

AU2012085489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Romania has officially announced that its borders with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have been closed due to a lack of beds in Romanian hotels. The Romanian agency AGERPRES adds that weather conditions are not suitable for tourism and that hotel spaces are limited because of the winter vacations of students and schoolchildren. As specified, tourist travel has been postponed until 6 January of next year.

This is the first official confirmation from Bucharest on the closing of the state borders. However, there has not yet been any official reaction to the news from world press agencies that hundreds of people have been killed in clashes with the Romanian army in the last 3 days.

Tokes Whereabouts Uncertain; Conflicting Reports

Reportedly Arrested, Tortured

AU2012102689 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Romanian dissident and minister Laszlo Tokes was arrested and tortured, according to his father. In a telephone conversation with BILD today, 70-year-old theology professor Istvan Tokes reported that his son had his right arm broken. Tokes' wife and his two children were also interrogated and beaten up. As a result, his daughter-in-law, who was 7 months pregnant, lost her unborn child. Now his son and his family are in a village near the Soviet border and are being guarded by soldiers, Istvan Tokes said.

SFRY Paper Reports Tokes' Death

LD2012115389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] According to Yugoslav newspaper reports, Minister Laszlo Tokes [minister of the Reformed Church] was supposedly killed in a Timisoara prison. Belgrade's POLITIKA EKSPRES cites the information of a Romanian journalist who said that a policeman had told him of Laszlo Tokes' supposed death. This same Yugoslav paper confirms the earlier reports that at least 2,000 people lost their lives in the course of the Timisoara disturbances and the subsequent reprisals. Yugoslav sources also say that apart from Timisoara and Arad, a state of emergency has also been introduced in Resicabanya and in some other Transylvanian towns as well.

Tokes Said Taken to Mineu

LD2012115989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] We have had extraordinary news. A listener from Debrecen has just phoned to say that Laszlo Tokes [Minister of the Reformed Church] has been taken to a villge near Zilah [Romanian name: Zalau], called Menyoe, or Mineu according to its Romanian name. He was received there on Sunday [17 December] morning by Dean Fodor.

This is the latest and newhest information we have about Laszlo Tokes.

Further on Tokes Whereabouts

LD1912224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] According to information received from the family of Laszlo Tokes, the reformed church minister and his wife have been transported to Szilagysomlyo by the Romanian Securitate. It is that mixed population village in the Szilagycsch district with barely a few hundred residents that had originally been selected as the site for his deportation.

Tokes 'Deported to Moldavia'

AU1912204189 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] We have just heard from Timisoara that the Minister, father Tokes is alive and has been deported to a village in the Province of Moldavia.

Ceausescu's Visit to Iran Continues; Returns Home

Visit to Iranian Factory, Museum

AU1912170089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Teheran, AGERPRES 19/12/1989—Tuesday morning President Nicolae Ceausescu saw round economic and cultural units in Tehran.

The visit was participated in by Ion Radu, Ion Stoian and other Romanian officials, as well as by Mohammad Hadi Nejad-Hoseinian, Iranian minister for heavy industry.

The visit started at the "Iran Khodro" complex, where President Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by general manager Davud Mirkham, who voiced the Iranian machine builders' joy at having the Romanian head of state as their guest.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was informed of the development of the production of buses, micro-buses and passenger cars, and of existing concerns for the continuous renewal and updating of fabrication processes, with a view to meeting both home market requirements and export demands.

During the visit to the factory's major halls, Nicolae Ceausescu expressed appreciation for the Iranian workers and experts' achievements and showed that possibilities were in place for the development of cooperation ventures between Romania and Iran in the respective area.

Upon departure, Nicolae Ceausescu was asked to sign the book of honour of the enterprise.

Iran's Carpets Museum, which gathers the most valuable models of carpets dating from the 16th century to date, was also visited. On seeing the halls of the museum, Nicolae Ceausescu had words of appreciation for the crafty execution of the carpets and for the Iranian people's creative genius.

Upon departure, the hosts warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the special honour he did to them and asked him to sign the museum's book of honour.

Lays Wreath at Khomeyni's Tomb

AU1912170189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1635 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Teheran, AGERPRES 19/12/1989—On Tuesday, December 19, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania laid a floral wreath at the Tomb of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni.

Upon arrival at the memorial complex, situated in the Bhest Zahra area, a military guard presented arms.

After the floral wreath had been laid, a moment's silence was kept.

The ceremony was attended by Romanian and Iranian officials.

At the end of the ceremony, President Nicolae Ceausescu signed the book of honour of the memorial complex.

Receives Iranian Foreign Minister

AU1912194989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Teheran /AGERPRES/ 19/12/1989—Tuesday, 19 December, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at Saadabad Palace, the residence reserved for him during his Iranian visit.

During the interview several aspects were approached related to the development of the Romanian-Iranian collaboration in the international arena as well as to a wide range of world political issues.

Emphasis was placed on the need for intensified efforts toward a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the states of conflict and tension in various parts of the world. In the context, special concern was shown to problems regarding a general settlement and conclusion of full accords between Iran and Iraq with a view to establishing peace in the region, just as the situation in the Middle East, Afghanistan and other parts of the world, with emphasis on the need that everything possible should be done for the resolution of all those problems in the interests of the respective peoples, of the cause of peace and collaboration worldwide.

The talks evinced that Romania and Iran had common or close positions on most of the current international issues, which provides conditions for a still more marked growth of the Romanian-Iranian collaboration and cooperation in the international arena.

The interview was attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Ion Stoian.

Receives Iranian Vice President

AU1912195089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Teheran AGERPRES 19/12/1989—On 19 December President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received at Saadabad Palace in Tehran Masud Rughani Zangani, vice president of the Republic and head of the plan and budget organization, chairman for Iran of the Joint Romanian-Iranian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation and of Trade.

During the interview the possibilities were surveyed of further developing the Romanian-Iranian cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other domains, on mutually advantageous terms. In that framework it was assessed that the current economic potential of Romania and Iran provided conditions for a more powerful expansion of bilateral cooperation, more particularly of cooperation in production, for the growth and diversification of trade.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underlined the important role of the two countries' governments, of the Joint

Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation and of Trade in identifying new ways and modalities of action to the end of intensifying the cooperative relations between Romania and Iran. At the same time, the importance was stressed of concluding new accords and understandings which should impart stability and perspective to the Romanian- Iranian cooperation, in the interest of the independent socioeconomic development of the two countries and peoples.

The interview was attended by Ion Radu, deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Romanian-Iranian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation and of Trade.

Meets Rafsanjani

AU1912194489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met this evening again with the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, at Saadabad Palace, the residence reserved for President Nicolae Ceausescu during his stay in Iran.

During this new round of talks, the two presidents continued to exchange views on problems pertaining to developing Romanian-Iranian relations of cooperation, both at the bilateral level and in the international arena.

The meeting took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Ends Talks With Rafsanjani, Signs Communique

AU2012142889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Official talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, concluded today. During their last round of talks, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani were briefed on results of working meetings between the Romanian and Iranian delegations and of the session of the Joint Romanian-Iranian Commission for Economic, Technological, and Trade Cooperation, whose proceedings took place in Tehran. The two heads of state emphasized that the relevant Romanian and Iranian bodies should take steps to exactly implement the understandings reached during the visit.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and talks held these days and pointed out that their implementation will contribute to further developing Romanian-Iranian cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technological, cultural, and other fields of activity, in the interest of both countries and peoples, of their progress and prosperity, and of the cause of peace and understanding among nations.

Both sides expressed the desire to continue their summit dialogue, which has played a decisive role in developing comprehensive relations between Romania and Iran.

The talks proceeded in a warm atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

In connection with the results of the talks and understandings reached, the sides adopted a communique which will be released.

After the conclusion of the official talks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, signed a long-term program on economic, trade, and technological cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Islamic Republic of Iran until the year 2000. The signing ceremony was attended by members of the two delegations participating in the talks. After the signing, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani shook hands with particular cordiality and congratulated each other on the results reached during the Tehran summit.

At the end of the ceremony, the two presidents made brief speeches.

Ceausescu Returns 20 Dec

AU2012141489 Bucharest Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] this afternoon Socialist Republic of Romania President Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest from his official visit of friendship to the Islamic Republic of Iran at the invitation of President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Upon arriving at Otopeni Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by Comrade Elena Ceausescu; by full and candidate members of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee Political Executive Committee; by secretaries of the Central Committee; and by members of the RCP Central Committee, the State council, and government; and leaders of central institutions, mass, and civic organizations.

'Abdul Majid Mozafari, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Bucharest, and embassy members were also present

Romanian pioneers and children of Iranian Embassy members offered flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

Government, Parties React to Events in Romania

Government on 'Disturbing' Events

LD1912195289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—"It is understandable that we should monitor news about events in Romania with great attention and concern," Ambassador Ivo Vajgl, official spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, said today in reply to a question asked of him by TANJUG journalists.

According to Vajgl, reports coming out of Romania are contradictory and dramatic, and without reliable facts it is impossible to comment responsibily on events. "We would, of course, be deeply saddened if the reports about casualities—which we received with shock—turn out to be true. As has been reported, Romanian authorities have closed the border with Yugoslavia, and this very fact is an indication that something is going on. In short, we are carefully following all reports about developments in Romania, even more so as Romania is a neighboring country," Ivo Vajgl said.

"Our concern is even greater as these events are taking place in a region populated by Yugoslav national minorities. Reports received so far from our diplomatic and consular missions in Romania indicate that neither the Yugoslavs on business or private visits in Romania, nor members of our national minorities have been directedly affected by the latest, disturbing events in that country."

LCY Ends Cooperation

AU2012145189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] By expressing the mood of the members and the broadest democratic public in our country, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has decided to halt specific cooperation with the Romanian Communist Party for the time being, which also includes the withdrawal of an invitation for a delegation of the Communist Party of Romania to attend the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists has also expressed deep concern over the tragic events in Romania and most sharply condemns the brutal showdown with the people and the acts of repression that have been resorted to and which have led to loss of human life.

The changes and reforms that are under way in East European countries are a historical process and cannot be halted by closing borders and particularly not with violence, which is used to frighten the Romanian people and nationalities that live in that country and to attempt to keep them in submissiveness and isolation, which is in opposition to the aspirations of the modern world for democratization and respect for human rights and freedoms, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia assessed.

SAWPY Demands End to Bloodshed

LD2012145289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] The Yugoslav public is concerned and deeply indignant over the fact that force was brutally used against its own people in the neighboring Romania. Expressing the mood and condemnation of the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference Presidium, with sharp and resolute condemnation, addresses the leadership [words indistinct] of Romania with the demand that it immediately prevent further bloodshed and that it invest efforts in safeguarding human rights and the full democratic development of the country.

We have (?just learned) that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium also expressed deep concern and most vehemently condemned events in Romania. It decided to sever all cooperation with the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], which implies the withdrawal of the invitation that an RCP delegation attend the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

Belgrade Workers Stage 30-Minute General Strike

LD2012091689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0750 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—A 650,000-strong Belgrade work force staged a 30-minute warning general strike at 0800 this morning. An appeal was read out at meetings in work organizations calling on the SFRY Assembly at its session today to consider demands by the work force of Belgrade to cut down inflation, reduce financial strains on the economy, change credit and tax policy, abolish privileges, and determine the price of labor.

Albanian 'Separatists' Demonstrate in Pristina

AU1912190189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] A little before 1900 this evening, Albanian separatists again held demonstrations in the center of Pristina. In front of the Grand Hotel, a group of about 50, mostly young, people started shouting the slogan: Kosovo-Republic. Immediately afterward, they ran away without the militia intervening.

At the same time, at the other end of the Pristina promenade, a large group of demonstrators, several hundred young people, started shouting Albanian separatists' slogans. They ran away when the militia appeared and immediately started using tear gas.

As our correspondent reports from Pristina, it is calm in the main Pristina street at the moment. Several of those participating in the demonstrations have been detained.

All Republics But Serbia Back Federal Measures

LD1912225789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—The parliaments of five Yugoslav republics on Tuesday supported in principle the programme of economic policy measures proposed by the Federal Government in Parliament yesterday. The parliaments of Serbia and its autonomous province of Vojvodina, however, decided not to accept the government's package of measures for next year.

The parliament of Serbia's other province, Kosovo, while assessing the proposed measures as essentially aimed at implementing economic reform, raised a number of serious objections to the government's programme and authorized its delegation in the Federal parliament to continue the procedure of adjusting the bills resulting from it.

These measures can only be adopted by consensus of all Federal units, and the programme of Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government is therefore likely to be implemented by a special constitutionally-based decision of the Yugoslav state presidency as a "temporary measure." This possibility was indicated by Prime Minister Markovic in parliament yesterday, when answering delegates' questions on what would happen if all republics and provinces failed to reach general agreement on this issue.

The first reaction came from the parliament of Serbia, which rejected Markovic's proposal on the grounds that it cannot curb Yugoslavia's hyper-inflation and carry out the economic reform over a longer period of time. In the parliament's assessment, the monetarist concept of government measures can only yield short-term results and this at the cost of great sacrifices for the poorest sections of the population. Some Serbian deputies demanded a resignation of the Federal Government.

The parliament of Croatia, while objecting to some bills proposed by the government, noted that such a consistent proposal of government measures was a chance to overcome the profound economic crisis in Yugoslavia, although it might also produce social problems.

Giving the government's package of measures its support in principle, the Slovenian parliament expressed confidence in the government and announced that Slovenia would state its attitude to the required constitutional changes in regular parliamentary procedure.

Although without a clear picture of what the government measures would bring to Montenegro, the parliament of this Yugoslav republic gave its support to the government programme because of its anti-inflationary nature. Noting that the wage-and-price freeze in power industry would cause problems, the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina upheld the proposed measures, as did also the parliament of Macedonia, which raised numerous objections but stressed its confidence in the Federal Government.

Slovenia, Others Support Markovic Program

AU2012110789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The Federal Executive Council program on next year's economic policy measures and on bridling inflation, which was published yesterday, has met with a favorable reaction in all the Yugoslav republics that supported it in principle. The only exceptions are Serbia and Vojvodina.

Bridling inflation, or rather implementing the sharp anti-inflationary policy measures is the most important task for Yugoslavia at present. This was said by Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Slovene Executive Council, in his recommendation to the Slovene Assembly delegates that the program should be supported.

The Croatian Assembly at its session stressed that the program should be adopted despite the painful measures, because the outline of the new economic policy is certainly better than the present consensus economy.

With the remark that it is not good that the Federal Executive Council limits the growth of prices in energy and infrastructure, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly supported the program of measures.

The Montenegro Assembly supported the program despite the fact that one could get the impression at the session that it was clear to very few people in the republic what the measures will mean for Montenegro.

The Executive Council of the Macedonian Assembly also recommended to its delegates that the the program of measures be adopted. The delegates also received a 25-page text of various observations by the republican government.

The proposed program of measures was not adopted by the Serbian Assembly, which stressed that the implementation of this program would impose the greatest burden on the most endangered strata of the population.

The program was also not supported in Vojvodina. It was said that it does not ensure a successful dealing with inflation.

The remarks expressed by the Kosovo Executive Council on the program contain the basic premise that the federal government program would stifle the development of Kosovo because it is directed toward restrictions. The Kosovo delegates in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces will continue negotiations on the federal government program.

Parliament Approves Constitutional Reform Plan

LD1912225389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2111 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the bi-cameral Yugoslav parliament today approved the proposal for changing the federal Constitution made by Prime Minister Ante Markovic in yesterday's presentation of the government's programme of economic reform and economic policy for 1990.

The government urged parliament to enact changes in the present Constitution before the adoption of a new one in order to centralize some state functions, to introduce a uniform tax system throughout the country and to give greater powers to the federal government in adopting macro-economic measures.

After obtaining approval for the changes from the republican and provincial parliaments, the Federal Chamber will rule that work begin on the changes in early January.

The parliament's Home Policy Committee today adopted the assessments of the Federal Government and the State Presidency on the conflict between the Republics of Slovenia and Serbia over Slovenia's decision to ban a rally of Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana on December 1 and the Serbian Socialist Alliance's call for an economic blockade of Slovenia. The Yugoslav federal bodies blamed Slovenia and Serbia for inciting interethnic intolerance in the country with their political conduct.

FEC Submits Report on Ljubljana Rally

LD1912182189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The measures passsed by the competent organs in Slovenia in the wake of the announced "rally of truth" designed to protect public peace and order and the lives and properties of people are endorsed by Slovene republican laws. However, in their entirety they coincide with measures that could only be applied if the SFRY Presidency declared extraordinary conditions and ordered the implementation of these measures. Thus, the competent organs of Slovenia were obliged to ask the SFRY Presidency to establish "the existence of the extraordinary conditions" and order the implementation of appropriate measures.

The statement issued by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People is an act of a sociopolitical organization which legally binds no one. However, the statement calling on all "institutions and work organizations in Serbia to break off their ties with Slovenia," constitutes its direct inducement to massively breach the most significant values of our community, which are endorsed by the Constitution—togetherness, solidarity, and the unified Yugoslav market.

These are the two key stances from the Federal Executive Council's report on "the current sociopolitical issues in the wake of the announced rally in Ljubljana and the events following it," which was today submitted to the Yugoslav assembly. This report and the stands of the SFRY Presidency on the situation in the country announced yesterday will be discussed by the delegates in the assembly committees today, and, as it was envisioned, at the sessions of two assembly chambers tomorrow.

Trifunovic Speech at Serbian LC Congress

AU1512143189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Speech by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, opening the 11th Congress of Serbian Communists in Belgrade on 15 December—live]

[Text] The time since the 10th Congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia has been marked by major, often very dramatic changes in the (?life) of society and [words indistinct] of new value announcing and demanding solutions and comprehensive changes through the tempestuous clash of the new and old. This has also been a time of historically important changes in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia. Reforms and stormy changes that are happening all over the world, and especially in the countries with a proclaimed socialist orientation, have strongly and urgently initiated the question of how to make socialist society economically rich and democratic.

Since the clash with the Cominform, the membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the citizens of Yugoslavia have been aware of the need for the development of democracy in socialism, the role of the market, self-management, the need for equal interethnic relations, the danger of bureaucratization, and so forth. This is why we were not surprised by the current problems in the countries of so-called real socialism.

However, the LCY itself did not manage to protect itself from bureaucratism and voluntarism, and to promptly introduce the necessary economic and political reforms in our country, which would correspond to modern conditions and needs. This is why the crisis was also becoming more acute in our country. The Yugoslav form of self-managing socialism, just because of the voluntarist behavior of our bureaucracy, did not confirm in practice those advantages which confirmed it as a historically more advanced and more humane social system.

The question of comprehensive and essential changes in the project and practice of socialism came to the fore in a very serious form. This is where the real essence and historic importance of our social reforms lie. The constitutional amendments of 1971, the Constitution of 1974, and the Law on Associated Labor led Yugoslavia into the process of disintegration and led to mutual confrontation in some of its parts. The voluntarist concept of the so-called consensus economy has inflicted huge damage on the Yugoslav economy.

The crisis first manifested itself in the economy. The price of shortcomings in the system and omissions, which favored voluntarism and facilitated the rule of particularism on the republican and national basis, and which disrupted the natural courses of economic and spiritual interlinking, rose day by day in the last few years.

Education, health, science, and culture, divided by republican borders and burdened by the material poverty of the expensive and bureaucratized apparatus, have found themselves in the position in which [words indistinct] function and their social importance. The worker, who is in theory protected from exploitation, has not—in the economic and moral sense—been given the proper motivation for initiative, greater work, and creativity. The revolutionary democratic idea of self-management was transformed in practice by bureaucracy into a series of formalized institutions without real substance. The crisis has not emerged just because of poor work and bad organization, but because the system did not stimulate the creative forces of society. Major mistakes, which were the consequence of political and economic voluntarism, devalued work, stopped the development of many fields, burdened the country with debts, increased the differences between developed and undeveloped, and caused poverty among a significant part of population. Separatist and confederalist tendencies were gaining in strength, interethnic relations were deteriorating, and our federation was becoming weaker.

A political break with the old practice, which was made at the Eighth Session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, marks the beginning of major changes in Serbia. People's wishes, demands, and proposals were manifested in the public scene. A resolute turnabout was made in opposing Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo, and in a showdown with it. The bureaucratic and autonomist policy in Vojvodina was defeated. The roads to establishing and strengthening unity in the SR of Serbia have been opened on a democratic, socialist course of constitutional, economic, political, cultural, and every other kind of integration in the republic.

Comrades, after its eighth session in particular, the LC of Serbia has clearly shown that it is not going to waste time describing the crisis and moaning about the difficult situation. Great efforts have been invested in order to make a decisive departure from the many fallacies and mistakes of an untenable economic system and a wrong development policy in order to start building a modern market economy in a socialist society. On these foundations, our republic has adopted specific programs for a comprehensive economic and social reform and has abstained the first results in realizing them.

The Serbian Communists have made a great contribution to the de-bureaucratization of society and to abandoning the ideology of statist socialism. The programmatic concept of the economic and social reform that we particularly elaborated at the Conference of the LC of Serbia and through the work of the Commission for Reform of the Presidency of our republic is a basis for building a democratic and rich socialist society.

The LC of Serbia has come out with a well-argued and consistent proposal on the way to establish an economic system which relies on the regulations of modern commodity production and is made capable of facing the challenges of the developed world. This has speeded up the process in all of Yugoslavia, which has led us to abandon the concept of the so-called consensus economy, to abolish the Law on Associated Labor and adopt the Law on Enterprises, to affirm income as the basic instrument and motive of efficient production, to free the initiative of every individual and develop an entrepreneurial spirit in working collectives, and to abolish the ownerless character of social property and open up scope for other forms of property—mixed, private, collective, and so on.

Our view on property is ideologically, theoretically, and economically clear: Social property is the basis of the socialist way of performing economic operations. However, today it can be successful in this only under the conditions and criteria of commodity production. Those who use social capital will be economically forced to increase it according to market criteria, or to hand it over to those who are more successful. If we fail to establish this demand strictly, we will simply be ruined economically—we would use up the material basis on which we found our development.

All forms of property—social, collective, private, and mixed—have an equal position in the economic system and they prove their primacy by means of their economic efficacy. Social property which is the prevailing basis of economic operations in our country should remain so, primarily by proving itself under conditions of commodity production. The development of other forms of property, along with other significant economic effects, will help social property to become more efficient, too.

Therefore, mobilizing everything that can be made to serve economic development and strengthen entrepreneurship at the same time is an indispensable prerequisite at this stage of development for solving many practical questions pertaining to the inefficiency of social property and to the delay in the development of society. Upon these foundations, we will bring about changes that mean economically responsible and therefore efficient economic operations with social capital.

The market method of conducting business activities demands full affirmation of a modern state and its economic and development functions. The state must be the exponent of those legislative, executive, and control functions which are necessary for the normal functioning of the unified integral market in Yugoslavia. At the same time, the federation should devote more attention to solving specific development problems that affect certain parts of the economy and certain republics. In this sense, we strive for significant improvements in agriculture's position, which is to say for the implementation of an appropriate agricultural policy at the federal level, the equal position of energy and raw material production in primary distribution, and for a mechanism of stimulating the development of the insufficiently developed regions which will be in the interest of a faster and more harmonized development of our entire country.

Bearing in mind the present hyperinflation and the inability of the current policy to check it, we resolutely demand that this chaos be stopped as soon as possible. We already expressed our view on this a long time ago. We also made specific proposals on the content of a comprehensive anti-inflationary program. When Serbia demanded an anti-inflationary program and urgent measures last spring, it was accused of trying to bring down the government. People tried to convince us that the introduction of the changes in the market and the system will solve inflation by themselves, and that our demands were aggressive.

Today, however, no sensible person in this country, nor those who are visiting our country, oppose the introduction of an anti-inflationary program. In fact, they demand such a program.

Meanwhile, inflation has increased tenfold. With these facts, does any sensible person require an additional explanation in order to agree with our demand. How can a state which needs so much time to establish these obvious facts function? This is why we justifiably demand that the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council finally come up with a program that will stop inflation. [applause]

Our republic is preparing itself in an organized way for the switchover to the market method of conducting business activities. This is, above all, being done by the Serbian Presidency Commission for Economic Reforms. We have already introduced a number of reforms. We are currently introducing an active social policy, reforms in agriculture, and changes in the housing sphere; we are stimulating the integration of big systems and the founding of public enterprises in the infrastructure. May I also mention the flotation of a public loan for the economic reconstruction of Serbia, the creation of tax-free zones, the preparation of cadres to work under the market conditions of conducting business activities, a reform of social activities, a program of rationalization and saving, and so forth. We will not stop at this and must continuously work to shorten the distance between our orientations and their proper elaboration and concrete realization.

Serbia has been hindered in its development for a number of years and, despite great wealth, is in many ways below the average level of development of Yugoslavia. However, we have many reasons to be optimistic, because we have come to our senses and we have united our forces, we have broken with the policy of bowing our head for the sake of peace in the family. [applause]

Now we should make use of what we have and live better. Therefore, economic development will be our basic task in the coming period of time. That will also be the hardest job. However, the essence of the reform lies in mobilizing creative forces along the road of the quickest development, in using the entire material potential in the republic rationally, and thereby making prosperity possible. First: We possess a strong cadre potential. Cadres with high school and university education total 14 percent and highly skilled and skilled workers make up over 50 percent of the entire number of employed people. With 1,650 students to every 100,000 citizens, Serbia has reached the level of the developed countries. The new development cycle that we have begun in the republic should include this professional potential and orient it, as well as use new production activities to include and orient the unemployed.

Second: A considerable potential lies in already built economic capacities. On average, only 60 percent of these capacities are being used at the moment. The orientation toward a market economy and the accompanying measures will help this percentage of utilization to come closer to European standards.

Third: About 50,000 hectares of arable land in Serbia are not being tilled at the moment. Only 1.4 percent of arable land is being irrigated. Agricultural measures are insufficiently implemented. Agricultural machines are not being rationally used. Radical changes in agriculture will open up possibilities for profitable production in the private and social sectors and particularly in the production of healthy food, using results achieved in the field of biotechnology and genetic engineering. One should also include forests and waters here as natural potentials of exceptional importance for economic development and ecology, as well as unexplored mineral and other natural wealth.

Fourth: Only with the development of the market economy will our republic's geographic position be fully recognized as being favorable for the development of tourism, international communications, and leading technologies.

Fifth: By creating public enterprises in the sphere of infrastructure at the republican level, we shall rationalize power generation, traffic, and communications, by which means we shall increase the efficiency of the entire economy.

Finally, there is the use of public loan resources and the greater interest shown by foreign capital in joint ventures. This year alone, more than half of all the joint ventures in our country have been realized in Serbia. The greater mobility of resources, people, and knowledge creates the possibility of opening up many new enterprises and jobs, particularly in the sphere of highly profitable and, from a technological point of view, most modern types of production.

At the same time, the existing enterprises will be quicker in taking up the SR of Serbia's course of an offensive orientation toward development in which dynamic economic growth and greater competitiveness will be based on new programs of production, development, technology, and exports.

Within the framework of this very modern economic development, we see our real chances to increase employment, particularly of young and skilled people.

In short, the LC of Serbia advocates an offensive orientation in implementing the economic reform and a dynamic economic development and extends full support to all promising fields.

The reform will bother only those people who have managed to survive with outdated programs and incompetent cadres for years, and lacked the firm resolution to adjust themselves to the reformist course. For this very reason the greatest attention is to be devoted to those who will initiate higher forms of technological, financial, and economic connections that deal with exports and help us to join the world economy more quickly, to those who initiate new investment ventures in the sphere of infrastructure, which will give rise to an entire series of production and service activities, and to those who will organize the marketing for our manufacturing industry which is still fragmented, as well as our small businesses.

Such an orientation has already achieved some initial results. We have registered an increase in the volume of production and exports. The processes of changing economic structure toward modernization and toward increasing the accumulation of capital are under way. Some significant success has been achieved in the field of small businesses. For example, over 3,000 new firms in the small business have been founded this year in Belgrade alone. Reformist changes in banking, economic infrastructure, and integration processes are nearing conclusion, and all this should have a considerable economic effect over the coming years. Such positive initiatives provide a stimulus to work collectives to change more rapidly to promising new development programs and accordingly renew their entire cadre structure, and particularly their managing teams.

Last year, Serbia was the only republic that had a positive rate of growth of industrial production, in contrast to the whole of Yugoslavia, that had a negative rate of growth. On the basis of the data for 11 months, it may be said with certainty that Serbia is this year achieving a more rapid growth in industrial production than Yugoslavia as a whole.

This is the best response to those who, conducting an anti-Serbian campaign in the past 2 years, said that Serbia is not working, but just attending rallies. [applause] As we can see, however, Serbia is working more than in those places where nobody, in quotes, lost any time at rallies.

However, the question of distribution in Yugoslavia is only just being broached. Because of the unjust and, one may say, dishonest relations set up by pure administrative measures in primary distribution, which is to say through prices, Serbia is losing a tremendous part of its income. One must stop this practice and this policy in primary distribution. [applause] If we have decided in favor of the market and the liberalization of imports and exports, this should apply to all products.

Changes in social activities are an integral part of the reform, and one of the most important factors of its success. The concept of self-managing interest communities has displayed great shortcomings in practice, so that radical changes in the organization and financing of the social activities have been inevitable. Unselective and prolonged financial restrictions, along with the pernicious effect of inflation, have seriously endangered the material foundation of these activities, so that the fulfillment of their basic functions has been brought into jeopardy in some fields.

Great fields of creative work, such as education, health care, some fundamental sciences, and cultural creativity of wide and national importance must be financed in a secure and stable way. The indispensable rationalization of social activities has not been carried out at the expected pace so far. This can be achieved above all through integration, through the concentration of cadres, funds, and equipment, and through the realization of joint projects.

It is exceptionally important to create a harmonious strategy of scientific research for the entire territory of the republic, considering the differing technical and technological levels of production and the unequally developed scientific research work in the several parts of the republic. The scientific results achieved in developed scientific centers should be used in the entire republic, the first condition being the creation of a comprehensive and unified system of scientific and technological information in Serbia and in Yugoslavia.

After the constitutional changes in our republic, a process of linking and integration, in substantial and organizational ways, is under way in education, science, culture, and information. With the adoption of uniform republican laws, the concept of social reforms in these fields in the SR of Serbia is being harmonized, and a uniform systemic foundation is being created, on which the scientific and creative potential of the republic will be able to unite.

A change in the structure and network of institutions is under way. A uniform policy of college entrance is being implemented, teaching plans and programs are being harmonized, scientific research projects are being jointly worked on, and cultural monuments are being protected. Good cooperation has been established among the leading institutions in these fields, such as the universities, the university communities, academies of science, clinical centers, and leading institutions in the sphere of culture.

This is one of the conditions for overcoming mediocrity and petty-bourgeois narrowmindedness. This is the way to contribute to a more even regional and overall social development.

In the past few years, the education system was the subject of well-argued critical analyses. It was assessed that the shortcomings in the concept of the education reform set at the 10th LCY Congress were multiplied and intensified in the course of the realization of this reform. In practice, some types of schools were developed that were worse than the previous ones. We renounced grammar schools [gimnazija], which are an achievement of European culture and civilization. [applause]

Therefore, modernized forms of classic types of secondary schools are being introduced in the first stage of the reform. The university—one of the most powerful strongholds of the democratic course of social development in the republic—plays an important role in overall reform processes. It must have a say on essential questions of its own development. Only then will all its creative forces and energy be liberated.

The accelerated process of integration in the economy, the creation of large systems, and the changes in the economic structure (?will release a great) potential and will lead to a better utilization of scientific results in production, development planning, and business decisionmaking.

Top institutions in this sphere, such as the academy of sciences, universities, and independent institutes which perform fundamental scientific research should be the active participants in and the creators of social reforms. Culture, which has up to now always been the first to suffer from all kinds of restrictions, is now receiving its place in the reform processes. Health is on a higher level of development than the economy. Its level of development in different regions is more even. Our republic, which has one doctor to every 503 inhabitants, has almost reached the level of developed countries in the modern world. However, today health is affected by material poverty. This is why priority should be given to basic medical care, preventive medicine, protection of the human environment and, in big city scientific, university, and clinical centers, to the development of highly specialized services with suitable staff and equipment.

Due to a long-lasting absence of human and social responsibility in applying the so-called dirty technologies, nature is increasingly being polluted and destroyed, and this is leading to the degradation of the human environment. Ecological protection cannot be developed only by making posters and badges to satisfy one's conscience, but by a more rational use of natural and human resources, actions and measures by the state and social organs and economic entities, and by intensifying scientific work and projects in the sphere of ecology, which must be an integral part of the development programs.

I would like to particularly stress the role played by the press, radio, and television in the process of democratization. Only those public information media which are themselves open to the events in all spheres of social life, everywhere in Yugoslavia, can play a responsible social role. This is the correct way of reestablishing a unified and comprehensive scope for the Yugoslav public information media.

At the end of this part of my speech, I would like to stress the great importance of a good and comprehensive social policy in our republic. The economic reform has its social price. We will not avoid it by postponing the introduction of the market economy, but we can reduce its consequences with an appropriate social policy. The social policy must be an integral part of the economic policy. The burden of the reform must be borne more by those who have more. [applause] The orientations concerning the social policy have already been established in our republic. It is now necessary to apply them properly for the sake of both the people who are socially most underprivileged and the success of the reform.

Comrades, as the demand for the democratization of the political system increased, it became increasingly clear that there was a great gap between the general ideological and political proclamations on social democracy, the ruling position of the working people and citizens, concrete constitutional and legal provisions, and the practice by which many working people and citizens were only a formal political subject in many respects. Various centers of political and economic power, which were not under democratic control, continued to operate.

What particularly contributed to an awareness of the untenability of such a situation in Serbia was the knowledge of the inequality on a mass scale and the crude pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo without the state organs of the republic being authorized or able to protect them, to ensure national equality, legality, and responsibility.

In our republic the people took the political stage before this happened anywhere in Europe. Considering the long democratic [applause] Considering the long democratic [Trifunovic repeats himself] and freedom-loving tradition in Serbia, this is logical. Clear and en masse demands for the work on fundamental reforms in the political system were expressed stronger than anywhere else in Yugoslavia. People proceeded from the belief that all those reforms which are being partially and incompletely implemented have no chance, and that the reform in Yugoslavia requires simultaneous fundamental changes in all essential spheres of social life.

I will deal with two sets of relations and questions to which the Serbian LC, as well as the people of our republic as a whole, devoted and are still devoting most attention. The first one refers to the unity in the SR of Serbia as a republic, while the other refers to our platform for a comprehensive reform of the political system in Yugoslavia.

As regards the constitutional setting up of Serbia as a republic, one must say above all that this corrects a major historical and political injustice toward Serbia. The provisions of the 1974 Constitution, which broke up the SR of Serbia and led to the (?process) of the provinces becoming states separated from their republic and always opposed to it, inevitably introduced instability and political clashes not only in the SR of Serbia, but also in the SFRY. The consequence of this was the elimination of Serbia as a state and the humiliation and breaking up of the Serbian people. The changes carried out in the Constitution of Serbia therefore have a far-reaching historic, political, and constitutional-legal significance. On the basis of these changes, the SR of Serbia, in terms of the most important functions, has become equal to other republics in Yugoslavia. This has provided what every democratic and law-governed state regards as the most important thing, the constitutional and legal authority to ensure the equality of all citizens, peoples, and nationalities, constitutionality, legality, and the personal and individual safety of the citizens. At the same time, they ensure the maximum use of the great human and material resources of the entire republic for its comprehensive development.

Bearing in mind the long-lasting discrimination of and pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, to which the separatist-nationalist policy of the former Kosovo political leadership and the work of state organs directly contributed, as well as the crude way in which these tragic events were ignored by the leaderships of certain republics and the autonomist-separatist leadership of Vojvodina, and even the Yugoslav political leadership, the only way out was the en masse political involvement of the persecuted people through mass arrival at the federal organs, through gatherings in numerous meetings, and so forth.

These gatherings [applause] these gatherings [Trifunovic repeats himself] were Yugoslav- and socialist-oriented gatherings. They demanded above all national equality, respect for the constitutional rights of all citizens, and the equal position of the SR of Serbia with other republics. In these historic processes, in the struggle to solve problems in Kosovo and to constitutionally set up Serbia as a unified republic, the Serbian LC was a true vanguard force, in firm alliance with all progressive forces. Through these crucial questions, the Serbian Communists and their leadership expressed the interests and aspirations of the Serbian people, as well as those of all other peoples and nationalities in the republic, and won, together with the people and under extremely difficult conditions, changes which are at the same time strengthening the SFRY. [applause]

I would particularly like to mention that during the process of Serbia's constitutional establishment and the struggle to solve problems in Kosovo, an unprincipled anti-Serbian campaign in some parts of the country inflicted huge political damage to relations in Yugoslavia. The purpose of this campaign was to prevent these processes at the expense of spreading lies and sowing national hatred. People did not even restrain from making accusations that Serbia wanted to deprive the nationalities of their rights, to expropriate their income, and to abolish their language and their cultural and other institutions.

However, the truth and the people's will won and demonstrated that the aim and content of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia exclusively serve the equality of all citizens, peoples, and nationalities, as well as constitutionality and legality in the SR of Serbia as a whole, that they are not directed against the provinces and other republics, but that they are an important guarantee for protecting the integrity and reinforcing the unity of Yugoslavia.

After the adoption of the constitutional amendments, a great job has been accomplished in the field of unified republican legislation, and trust between the republican and provincial organs has been strengthened through joint work. Aware of the danger to the democratic development and integrity of Yugoslavia, in July this year we drafted a document on the reform of the political and constitutional system in Yugoslavia, and offered it for discussion and joint study to all the republics and the federation. This document and the proposed resolution for our congress fully agree with each other. I am sure that what the document contains will be inserted in the new constitution of the SR of Serbia, and we will struggle to have it inserted and accepted in the new constitution of the SFRY.

The LC of Serbia proceeds from the premise that a thorough reform and a true democratization of the political system of socialism are an essential prerequisite for the economic reform and for all other reforms that must be realized simultaneously and comprehensively. The basic subject of the political system and socialist democracy should be the citizen, and his interests should no longer be expressed indirectly, which has been the chief shortcoming of the present system.

Self-management should be freed from the present state monopoly in regulating self-managing relations. Self-managing functions should be separated from the managing function, which ought to be carried out with full independence and with personal responsibility.

We must create a political system that will guarantee democratic and human rights and freedoms, beginning with freedom of thought and public views, freedom of the press, economic and social rights, religious freedoms, and ranging up to the freedom of organization and association of citizens, in conformity with their interests and needs. We have defined our views on these matters in the said document.

We view political pluralism as a realistic expression of objectively different economic, social, political, and other interests. We therefore consider that it is a legitimate and democratic right of the citizens that, for the purpose of realizing their interests, they freely organize and associate in various associations, alliances, and political organizations on a democratic socialist platform and in conformity with the Constitution. These questions will of course be thoroughly examined during the drafting of the new constitution, so that provisions may be inserted into it to guarantee the rights of the citizens and provide constitutional security for democratic political organizations, as fits our multinational socialist federal community, which we wish to build as a rich and democratic society.

The LC does not claim any right to a political monopoly. Its role in our society should not be guaranteed by the Constitution. The very general democratic ambience that should create the democratic system for which we are struggling constitutes a sufficient guarantee for the affirmation of what is progressive. We firmly believe in our social reform program, which has obtained the support of the great majority of the citizens of Serbia, but we will also support all the new solutions directed toward the implementation of the goals of building a democratic and rich socialist society, which means every solution that is more progressive than the one we propose.

We have taken great steps toward broadening democracy. We will not delay such steps any further. In this sense, we will strive for the transformation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWPY] through free and more varied forms of association of people, with opportunities for the affirmation of and competition between various concepts and specific programs and proposals directed toward the assemblies and the public. However, even such a changed SAWPY will not be proclaimed a framework of or a limit to the possibilities for political organization, because we could thus limit the democratic rights of the citizens.

Serbia, let me reiterate, has a long democratic tradition and only its citizens can have the decisive word in all key decisions. If the past 2 years have shown anything clearly, they have shown precisely that the people must be asked. This must remain both the system and the policy in Serbia. [applause]

When the LC of Serbia is concretely deciding on the question of current political organization, we must take into account, particularly now, the multinational composition of the population of the republic, the very difficult situation in Kosovo, and even the level of separatist indoctrination of a portion of the ethnic Albanians, especially young people. Care for the integrity of the republic and the country is necessary even when one decides on the forms of political organizations.

Many parties and associations are being formed in Yugoslavia, chiefly within republican or national frameworks. This is a reality that nobody should ignore. The least than can be said about this with firm conviction is that such a view of political pluralism cannot unite Yugoslavia on any foundation, and especially not on a democratic foundation. On the contrary, it can only increase the divisions and confrontations in a multinational community such as ours.

Therefore, we do not consider such a view of political pluralism to be either progressive or constructive. We are not saying this for the first time, because we have stressed on several occasions that this undoubtedly is a process that simply breaks up Yugoslavia.

In fact, what we have in Yugoslavia now is a multiparty system in its worst form. In Yugoslavia, within the very League of Communists of Yugoslavia, we already have several parties founded on a national or rather republican basis. They harbor the danger of disuniting Yugoslavia as a multinational community.

As regards Serbia, I wish to say responsibly here to you that, at least as regards the stand of all the most responsible leaders of Serbia, the LC of Serbia and the Republic of Serbia have no reason to and do not wish to administratively hinder the formation of political parties. To strive for an administrative prevention of the formation of other parties in Serbia would oppose its democratic tradition of many years, which has been well-known in Europe, and would also oppose the present decision of Serbia in favor of a social reform whose essence is socialism as a rich, but also a democratic society.

Anyhow, we have expressed such democratic views in July, in the document of the Commission of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia for Reform Problems. Because of the importance and the context of what I say, I wish to remind you (?what we said there). I quote:

Political pluralism as a form of democratic expression of various social interests, ideas, and values, objectively arises on the basis of deep and open economic and social changes in our country. This implies a number of new social subjects, and their interests and needs, joining freely in social institutions and processes. This refers above all to agricultural producers, workers and entrepreneurs who work with privately owned instruments of labor, intellectual creators, and all other strata that contribute to a quicker development of society and its material and spiritual values.

It is the right of the working people and citizens to be freely organized in various alliances and associations on a democratic basis guaranteed by the Constitution, through which they autonomously express their interests, stands, and proposals. Political pluralism presupposes that outdated political practice and its undemocratic manifestations be abandoned in the form of indirect elections and a political monopoly of informal groups, and it presupposes a full respect and application of democratic principles, such as free direct elections, openness in work, freedom of criticism, personal responsibility, freedom of association, respect for all other personal and collective rights and freedoms of people, and a wider application of the institutions of direct democracy, above all the referendum, as undisputed civilizational achievements.

Bearing in mind the fact that socialism is in a transitional period of its development, one should not exclude the possibility of other forms of pluralist political organizing, if they are realized on a democratic and socialist basis and within the Yugoslav context. end quote.

I think that political trends in our country in the past few months have confirmed the correctness of this kind of orientation. This orientation reinforces the reasons to strive for the Constitution of Serbia and Yugoslavia, which we are going to adopt, to clearly contain all stands contained in the document which we adopted last summer, and to above all ensure, as this document states, that the rights of the man and the citizen, which are the achievement of the progress made in the modern world, are endorsed by the Constitution and are consistently guaranteed in the Yugoslav political system.

Comrades, within democratic relations, the LC, on the bases of the already given proposals for social reforms in Serbia and Yugoslavia and its own reform, should organize itself and prepare itself in terms of its programs, organization, and cadres for the successful implementation of its ideas and proposals, and for winning the trust of the citizens through its work and results.

Firmly determined to expand democracy in socialism we are against all those concepts of political pluralism which place a question mark over Yugoslavia as a socialist and federal state, and which facilitate the founding of national, or better said, nationalist parties of all sizes whose destructive political work for the integrity of the country is already evident in some of our republics. [applause]

We are convinced that we should boldly make all democratic moves that are possible to make under the present huge economic difficulties, differences, and clashes in the country without endangering socialism and Yugoslavia. After all, democracy is not introduced or prescribed by the acts of political and state authorities outside the real economic and political context.

Accepting the achievements of this civilization and certain institutions of classical political democracy concerning the freedom of political organization and action does not mean that we have to repeat all the weaknesses expressed through its development. Pluralism must not be built as an arena of party elites in their struggle for power at the expense of the interests of the people.

In the consistent struggle for human freedoms and rights, the LC of Serbia sees a realistic chance for building a law-governed state and a true democratic representation of people in the assemblies as, above all, the main legislative organs of authorities based on free, direct, and secret elections. The organs of state authorities, especially the executive and legislative organs, should independently and efficiently perform their duties, but they should also be under the efficient control of the assemblies.

The courts should be independent and only bound by the Constitution and the law. This is an essential prerequisite and guarantee for constitutionality and legality and the protection of human freedoms and rights. We are in favor of abolishing sociopolitical chambers and all other institutions in the system which have not confirmed themselves in practice. We are also in favor of introducing a chamber of citizens and a labor chamber in the assemblies. We also think that there should a chamber in the federation which will express and guarantee national equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. We are also of the opinion...[applause] We are also of the opinion [Trifunovic repeats himself] that it is necessary to introduce in the Constitution and widely apply various forms of direct democracy, above all the referendum as the form of deciding on some important social issues.

The wide pre-congress activities, and especially the successfully convened conferences of the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Kosovo, have confirmed the resolute orientation of Serbia's Communists for the socialist republic of Serbia as a unified, democratic, and law-governed state which includes two autonomous provinces. [applause]

By living together in Vojvodina and Kosovo for centuries Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Montenegrins, Hungarians, Turks, Romanians, Muslims, Romanies, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, and other peoples and nationalities have learned to differentiate between national affirmation and the chauvinist poison which is destroying all multinational communities. They will simply not accept dirty tricks, the sowing of mistrust, hatred, and fear by the policy conducted by leadership, peoples, and nationalities of Serbia.

Today, the fact that nobody was discriminated against and that nobody was deprived of his rights because of his national affiliation, is worth more than all the words, or declarations, or slanders directed at us. [applause]

No attempts made in some other republics—which praised their allegedly democratic principled voice to protect at one point in time the provinces against Serbia's hegemony and at another point in time to eliminate the autonomous provinces from the federal organs—will change our stand. The socialist autonomous provinces cannot be states, but must protect and develop the national, economic, political, cultural, and other characteristics of the people and nationalities who live in them. Organizing their autonomy in this way, the citizens, peoples, and nationalities of Vojvodina and Kosovo do not need sanctimonious care, nor advisers, nor bureaucratic patrons. [applause]

A resolute orientation toward a federal Yugoslavia which is of vital importance for all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and citizens and working people, is of paramount importance for the Serbian LC. We want to reinforce the federal character of Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and nationalities. It should not be questioned by every single change which will inevitably be made and every time it appears to some republic that the existing institutions and interethnic relations are wrong, badly founded, or too narrow for development and progress. We cannot every so often haggle over somebody who does or does not want to stay in the federation and the conditions under which they want to stay. [applause]

No republic can have the right to remain in the federation only as long as this suits it and to the extent that it is in its interest. The attempt to change the constitutional organization of the country unilaterally by changing one republican constitution is nothing but a single republic assuming the right of organizing the federation, which directly affects and threatens the rights of other republics that make up the federation.

We proposed that the federation be given its legal autonomy, rights, duties, and instruments to perform them. These will be the questions which we will jointly discuss when we draft the new constitution. We in the SR of Serbia are of the opinion that a modern and efficient federal state must have those powers which will enable it to conduct a unified macro economic policy and to make decisions efficiently. This is why we propose the founding of federal organs in a way that would enable the SFRY Assembly to draw its strength from representing both the citizens and producers, and not only from exclusively representing the people and nationalities, which is to say the republics and provinces. [applause]

According to the proposals made by the SR of Serbia, the federation should ensure the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market and economic system, the unified policy in the fiscal and monetary spheres and economic relations with other countries, the protection of the freedoms and rights of the citizens, national equality, the unified bases for the economic political system, security, foreign policy, the accountability for a faster development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo, and the protection of the human environment. In addition, we are also in favor of retaining decisionmaking based on the principle of unanimity only in the most important questions for national equality, which excludes any kind of and anybody's majoritarianism, but which permits that outside this group of questions the federation and its organs efficiently make decisions through the majority principle.

We are against pressures in favor of separatism and the confederalization of Yugoslavia, which are not only present but are also increasing in some republics, as was most directly demonstrated through the Slovene constitutional amendments. We are equally energetically opposed to the creation of an anti-Serbian, anti-Yugoslav, and anti-Army mood in that republic. [applause]

Yugoslavia is the product of the historic aspirations, interests, and struggle of the peoples and nationalities who live in it, and therefore the current bureaucratized political elites cannot reshape or abolish it. [applause]

We would like to believe that during the forthcoming activities on the drafting of the new SFRY Constitution, the forces of democratic federalism, unity, and national equality would become stronger, which is something that implies wide room for self-organization of the republics in conformity with their specific circumstances and needs. At the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress and in the forthcoming activities in drafting the new Constitution, the LC of Serbia will struggle energetically and consistently for such a socialist and democratic federation.

The preservation and progress of the SFRY is a historical and moral obligation to the millions of victims who fell for the Yugoslav idea, the idea of socialism and federal democratic Yugoslavia, for brotherhood and unity, and national equality. [applause]

Comrades, unfortunately, by entering an increasingly deep economic, political, and moral crisis in our society and suffering from the lack of ability to offer socialist and democratic solutions for such a situation, due to a high degree of bureaucratization of the LCY and the state, one could not avoid vacillations in the national policy. The struggle to maintain political monopoly and power, which has in fact become the main interest, is waged by relying on the nation and by absolutizing national and particularistic interests. In that way, the clear political view of relations between national and Yugoslav orientations has been lost.

Both today and tomorrow, national equality must mean the same thing to every citizen in every part of the SFRY. The struggle for socialist and democratic Serbia and for democratic federal Yugoslavia is the lasting vital interest of the Serbian people and, in the same way, of all other peoples and nationalities. At the same time, it is also the interest of the sections of the Serbian people living in other republics. On the whole, the Serbian people possess rich historical experience and keen consciousness of the democratic essence of the socialist national policy—the policy of the equality of peoples and nationalities and brotherhood and unity. For ethnic Serbs living throughout Yugoslavia, national equality is the basis of survival, a condition for life in confidence, understanding, and harmony with other peoples and nationalities, as well as socialist prospects in general. We can see neither modern Serbia nor modern Yugoslavia beyond such possibilities and such development. [applause]

Throughout the entire history of the struggle for socialist ideas, proletarian class interests, and modern social prosperity, the Serbian Communists have been in a constant conflict with their own and any other kind of nationalism, thereby strengthening their course toward national equality. This experience of the long struggle along the socialist road of development warns us in many ways that conflict with nationalism as a reactionary and dark consciousness and practice cannot have any meaning for Communists if it is only verbal, formal, and propagandist. The struggle against nationalism must consist above all in cutting its roots in the sphere in economy, social system, and culture, as well as in people's consciousness.

Today, nationalism in Yugoslavia is trying to push itself as a platform for solving the crisis. It is offering solutions that would ruin both socialism and Yugoslavia. Nationalism offers itself as a platform for integration and framework of anti-Yugoslav orientation. This is why it offers national states within a confederation national economies, a Constitution as an interethnic contract, an end to socialist power, and a separatist shelter from the invented hegemony within the Yugoslav state and community. In order to attain its aims by force, it treads upon constitutional and basic human rights and liberties, calls upon the people to be street mobs, and uses crude political repression. If, as Communists and progressive people, we want a future with socialist features, that is, democratic and humane prospects, then it is inevitable to respect the past, not to impose political keys and patterns on history, and to affirm those values from history which are generally human.

During the history of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, various traditions have existed and still survive. As Communists, we intend to continue democratic traditions in every people and every community. Our socialist revolution was Yugoslav-oriented, democratic, and humanist in proclaiming the victory of progressive over conservative forces in every people. Therefore, those people who absolutize their own particularistic interests, and belittle everything that is Yugoslav-oriented and common as hegemonic and centralist, no matter whether it is deliberate or not, are working to make Yugoslavia disappear from the political map of Europe.

It has been justifiably stressed several times that the situation in Kosovo is the gravest political and moral problem in Yugoslavia. We have been confronted with Albanian separatism and nationalist pressures in Kosovo ever since the war. Unfortunately, the struggle the LC, socialist forces, and the Yugoslav state has been waging against the organized counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian separatists which has lasted for years, is suffering from the weaknesses which are typical for shortsighted analyses, partial measures, short-term actions, and sometimes also wrong and even not well-intentioned political assessments, moves, and conclusions both by the highest Yugoslav organs and the organs of the SR of Serbia.

After the counterrevolutionary activities Albanian nationalists carried out in 1981, the unanimously adopted platform on Kosovo has been interpreted and implemented in different ways. It has become a mere declaratory document and the joint life in Kosovo has become more and more difficult and insecure.

It is the fact that only with the Eighth Session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and the ninth session of the [words indistinct] of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo for national and elementary civil and human rights, with the resolute struggle against Albanian separatism and all forms of nationalism, with establishing Serbia constitutionally as a united and equal republic (?within) the SFRY, it has become clear that the politics of setting Kosovo and Albanian nationality against Serbia has failed, that there is no chance for the slogan Kosovo republic to become true, that, with many troubles, the policy of national equality is winning over counterrevolution, and that the policy of the development of Kosovo as a part of modern and democratic socialist Serbia and Yugoslavia will be victorious. [applause]

As a socialist autonomous province and an inseparable part of the SR of Serbia and the SFRY, Kosovo can survive only as a region within which all peoples and nationalities feel at home, and as a community of mutual confidence and tolerance, joint peaceful life, equal personal security and security of property, and justice for everybody. Separatist counterrevolution carried out by Albanian nationalists and made possible by the long-lasting close alliance between Albanian national bureaucracy and separatist anti-Yugoslav forces in the country, as well as beyond, has left deep and painful scars on the interethnic relations in Kosovo. All this together has been expressed in the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress which is unique in its drama. It has caused deep disturbances in relations among people and sown seeds of hatred which will need a long time to be removed.

Even the victory over former bureaucratic and opportunist Kosovo leadership, in whose defense nationalists and separatists organized strikes, demonstrations, and armed rebellion, has not pulled the scales off everybody's eyes, but has nevertheless opened the process of a resolute struggle against Albanian separatists and nationalists within the institutions of the system, in political organizations, and in the economy, education, culture, and science.

The recent conference of the LC of Kosovo has shown that we are now in the center of the struggle for cadre renovation, for building a new concept of Kosovo development, and for Kosovo to open toward Serbia and Yugoslavia.

An intensive process of establishing constitutionality, legality, and efficient authority is carried out in Kosovo today, as a condition for creating interethnic confidence and opening prospects for joint life. Developmental questions which are of interest to all citizens must be solved in Kosovo—albeit under special conditions—through the consistent implementation of the social reform which ranges from the reform of economy and social activities to the reform of the political system and the LC. The modern development of Kosovo with the support of the SR of Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia is of doubtless interest to members of all nationalities. It opens room for broad strata of the population—a factor with a resolute influence on stability of socialist prospect of Kosovo—to come on the social scene.

I would say most briefly something about the ban on the meeting of truth about Kosovo in Ljubljana, an unconstitutional and politically dangerous violation of basic human rights through police measures over the entire territory of the SR of Slovenia. This was only the last in a series of acts by the Slovene leadership which is persistently denying the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo, and in various ways encouraging and supporting Albanian separatists, and attacking the new Kosovo and Serbian leadership. The reaction of the SR of Serbia to this was serious. The Slovene leadership can contribute to overcoming the present difficult situation and resuming the ties which it has broken by force if it removes, that is, changes what has caused the problems. This is not conditioning, but a normal demand we have publicly made and explained, which means asking that the police measures that have been taken be condemned, the citizens of the SFRY be guaranteed freedoms and rights, the support to Albanian separatists be stopped, Yugoslav policy toward Kosovo be respected, and the stand of the SFRY Constitutional Court on Slovene amendments be accepted. [applause]

Comrades, the reform of society and the reform of the LC are profoundly interdependent. Advocating the abolition of the constitutionally guaranteed leading ideopolitical role of the LC in society, we support the abolition of all elements of the monopoly position of the LC which brought other sociopolitical organizations into the position of being transmission belts for the party policy and deprived them of independence and legitimacy. This means, however, that we are against the establishment of any other political monopoly.

Because of the bureaucratization of the LC, the leaderships have been separated from the membership. This diverted the LC more and more to opportunism, and the LC became separated from its social basis, from the interests of the workers class, and from the creative forces in society and broad working strata. Such an LC, under the conditions created by the republican statehood having been made absolute, has stayed behind developed special interests that federalized it and split it into eight virtually independent parties that have been constantly clashing at the federal level. It was inevitable that the LCY leadership would lose its prestige.

An LCY in which the national element is placed above the class element and which is disunited in ideology and action, has not been in a position to offer a comprehensive program of reforms that would lead society out of the deep crisis in which it has fallen. With its constant initiative and determination in its demands to solve the major problems of society, the LC of Serbia has been showing in the past 2 years that the Communists can change such a situation and can be the leading force in society if they offer the right answers to the questions posed by life and if they rely on all progressive and democratic forces and tendencies in society.

If we say that the LC of Serbia has accomplished a significant democratic transformation, this is no mere boasting; just as it is by no means a striving, in quotes, to export the antibureaucratic revolution, if we point out the strong pressure of the people's strivings and workers' requests all over the country demanding to overcome bureaucratic resistance to the establishment of unity in the LCY and in Yugoslavia as a federal community of equal peoples and nationalities.

By spreading fear of Serbia and of its allegedly hegemonistic strivings, its alleged Stalinism and unitarianism, through misusing the press and through repeating the lies and slander, one may perhaps merely postpone the democratic changes in society that will prevent national bureaucracies from presenting themselves as the exclusive true interpreters and defenders of national and republican state interests.

At the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress, we will strive for democratic unity of the LCY organization that in its struggle for progress proceeds from the historical interests of the workers class and the working strata, and that accepts to participate in the political life of the country on an equal footing with other democratic organizations and associations of citizens that have a socialist outlook, and with their movements and initiatives. We will strive for the party bureaucracy to be stripped of power and for the internal relations in the LCY as a whole and in any of its parts to be based on democracy [words indistinct] the program and stands, (?which must be obligatorily implemented).

The Communists of Serbia, open to everything that is democratic and progressive, will firmly struggle for the implementation of the ideas of socialism under the modern conditions and in a modern way, thus making their contribution to the humanization of society. Neither the form nor the content of our modern political program will jeopardize those historical and humanistic values that ensured the Communists respect in Yugoslavia, but will also not hide the errors and omissions for which we bear responsibility as an organization and a movement. We will preserve our class foundation and we will struggle for our program by relying on the ideas of socialism, democracy, modern economy, and self-management under the present conditions, presenting new answers to new problems.

We have supported the positions on the democratic process in the building of the LCY policy, especially as concerns strategic and program questions. In this respect we have also supported the view that in cases when major differences appear between the several republican organizations in the LCY, public discussions be renewed, and attempts be made to harmonize the views and to attain uniform views and stances. We are aware of the varying conditions—material, cultural, and political—in which the several republican organizations work, because of which the necessity of their independent and responsible activity must be respected. We are against majoritarianism as a form of abuse of the numerical predominance of some organizations, but we are also against the introduction of the consensus in LCY decisionmaking. [applause]

Although we strive for the greatest possible agreement, we believe that consensus would lead to blockage that would endanger the organization's ability to provide answers to questions of importance for the whole county, and it would then quite certainly lead to a breakup and liquidation of the LCY. It is unacceptable for us to reduce the LCY to a federation of republican and provincial organizations and to simply transfer the federalism or confederalism in the state to the relations in our political organization.

If we proceed from the assumption that the republican Leagues of Communists are the protagonists primarily or exclusively of current republican interests that often oppose each other, such opposition cannot be modified by any voting instruments or machinery. Independence and responsibility in a unified organization, like the LCY, can be harmoniously developed only in developed democratic relations.

Democratization of relations in the LCY is primarily based on the strengthening of the place, role, and rights of the LC. The individual rights of an LC member are also affirmed concerning the initiatives and participation in the building of policy and stances all the way from the basic organization up to the LCY as a whole, and concerning the opportunities for an LC member to establish ties for this purpose with Communists in other organizations according to his inclinations or for the sake of solving a certain common problem.

The rights are ensured for an LC member to pose the question of confidence and to demand that higher organs or their individual members be called to account. The integrity of the LC members who remain in a minority is being protected.

A democratic protection of the rights of the LC members who remain in a minority to dispute the validity of the stances and decisions adopted by a majority [words indistinct] must not (?assume the forms of) factional activities and obstruction. The principle of obligation precisely protects the majority from such activities by a minority, which means that it protects the democratic nature of the LC.

We believe that the LCY as a whole should function on the same principles, taking into account a respective amount of independence of the republican LC's as well as of the provincial LC's that are part of the LC of Serbia and their responsibility in building and implementing the LCY policy. The conclusions and stances of the LCY cannot be generalized to such an extent that they allow completely different interpretations and conduct. And even less can they be contradictory when, unable to present a clear and firm stand, they become a collection of different and even opposing stands that cannot be called even a compromise.

By putting the stress on the democratization in the LC, the principle of democratic centralism assumes new content and significance. The historical and current interests of the modern workers class become the basic aims and activators of the LC activities. At present these interests are to a great extent identical with the interests of all the working strata and of the great majority of the citizens.

The LC will therefore endeavor to rally broad strata of citizens around its programs, in which the citizens recognize their interests. To neglect and to ignore the interests of the nonproductive strata of the population would weaken the ability of society to develop successfully. However, for the LC to abandon the struggle primarily for the interests of the workers class and to abandon its social class essence would mean a change in the very essence of the organization and of the sense of its existence.

In connection with the unity of the LC of Serbia and the position of the LC of Vojvodina and the LC of Kosovo within it, we proceed from the premise that the LC of Serbia is the organization of all the members and that the LC's in the territory of Serbia, and the LC's of Vojvodina and Kosovo are its integral parts which take a creative part in building the policy and are involved in its consistent application.

In the new democratic relations, the independence of the provincial LC's does not mean they are exempt from the principle of democratic centralism. They are responsible both to the members and to the entire LC of Serbia and its organs for building and implementing the policy of the LC of Serbia. The unity of the LC of Serbia has become its permanent and definitive distinguishing mark, a new quality of democratic relations both in the LC of Serbia and in the Republic of Serbia as a whole. The LC's of the provinces have become factors of unity of the LC of Serbia and thus of the LCY, whose parts they are and in whose organs they are directly represented.

The LC in its own reform proceeds from the position of a free man and citizen. On our members whom citizens will elect to the assemblies, we impose the obligation to abide by democratic rules of behavior, to respect the laws and the Constitution, and to respect the will of the voters. We develop internal democratic relations in such a way that they ensure a constant and dynamic attitude toward social problems, so that we, as a sociopolitical organization of the workers class and other working strata of society, may exert influence on decisionmaking in the assemblies even after the elections, in self-managing and other institutions, on the public scene, and in a dialogue with varying and different views.

We will develop such activities primarily in the Socialist Alliance that should be transformed thoroughly and radically into an alliance of independent associations, movements, organizations, and organized and spontaneous initiatives of citizens.

The reform of the LC also implies changes in our ideas in the sphere of cadre policy. The official positions in the LC will be occupied by those people who have achieved a certain standing among the grass roots through their initiatives and results in political work. The LC will have to [word indistinct] as delegates in assemblies and to responsible positions in society only those people who can win the confidence of the voters, because in direct [words indistinct] elections that we have been advocating, (?affiliation) to the LC does not ensure advantage.

Comrades, we do not want to impose our views and proposals to anybody in Yugoslavia as being the best and the only correct ones. We offer a program which is not ignoring the grave reality and urgent need for development. Reality is changing quickly, both in our country and in the world. We will be open to the experiences, opinions, criticism, proposals, and inventiveness of other people, no matter whether they come from our or the world's heritage. We expect the others to do the same with our proposals. Moreover, most importantly, we in the LCY must all work together with more persistence, tolerance, and mutual responsibility in order to overcome present divisions and arrive at necessary unified views and interests of the LCY and the progress of socialist Yugoslavia.

Only in a well-argued dialogue about specific proposals and not arbitrary suspicions and unfounded accusations can one jointly reach the most acceptable and best solutions that are necessary for us. This is the only possible way also because there is no individual force or individual part of Yugoslavia capable of conceiving and implementing the social reform. Its success will be more certain if we work on its realization together and with equal zeal, interests, and aims.

It depends on all parts of the LCY whether until the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress we will manage to have more questions about which we agree and upon which we can build a united political program of social reform in Yugoslavia. We ourselves will do everything in our power to make the 14th extraordinary Congress the congress of the unification of progressive forces on the questions of social reform, a new constitution, and transformation of the LC.

The LC of Serbia sees its role above all in the struggle for modern, democratic, and socialist solutions, for better life of the worker and of every individual, for better interethnic relations, and for the progress of a united SR of Serbia and the SFRY.

It has become clear that we in the SR of Serbia possess sufficient strength to achieve social progress. One cannot expect the crisis to be solved without unity based on democratic foundations and on a clear political course. What the people in Serbia expect is possible to attain.

The Serbian Communists accept their share of responsibility, being aware of the need for the broadest rallying of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, youth, and citizens to realize economic progress and democracy, so our republic and the whole of Yugoslavia can finally tread along the roads of progress.

The LC of Serbia has regained confidence and achieved great respect among the people in the republic. Let us prove at this congress and particularly in implementing its stances and programs of social reform, that we are capable of justifying such confidence in the interest of the Serbian People, other peoples and nationalities in the SR of Serbia, and in the interest of socialism and Yugoslavia. [applause]